1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

Part II

LAND TENURE

Historical Introduction

22. At the end of the eighteenth century, the basin of the great Rejang River was a sparsely populated region. The whole of its southern flank (the part which is the particular concern of this report), the area, that is, drained by the Kanowit, Poi, Ngemah, Katibas and Baleh rivers, was an unbroken tract of primeval rain-forest, virtually untouched by man. Here and there along the main rivers of this region (the Rejang between Sibu and the Pelagus Rapids, and parts of the Baleh), there were settled communities—such as the Kanowits, the Tanjongs, and the Lugats—living in long-houses and cultivating the land. But these scattered peoples numbered not more than one or two thousand souls, and their activities had wrought little change in their natural environment. Most of this vast tract of forest was the territory of bands of nomadic Ukits and Bukitans, who relied on the plants and animals of the jungle for their subsistence, and who did not practise the cultivation of rice, or of any other staple crop. During the nineteenth century major changes were to happen. This largely inviolate natural region became the scene of human migrations which were to alter the entire face of the land. The newcomers—the Iban—came from the immediate south. They were a virile and truculent people, whose whole way of life was based on the cultivation of hill rice. For them, the virgin forests of the valleys of the Rejang held the promise of those bountiful and heavy harvests which are the foremost aim of all Iban endeavour. Moreover these forests—so sparsely inhabited—were the territory of no powerful rival tribe; they were there for the taking, and take them the Iban did. By any standards these great Iban migrations into the Rejang and beyond were the most momentous happening in the social and economic history of nineteenth century Sarawak.

23. At the commencement of the nineteenth century, there were probably no Iban living north of the southern watershed of the Rejang basin. To-day, there are more than 114,000 Iban[1] settled in areas northward of this line (Sketch Map 2). They constitute more than one-fifth of the total population of Sarawak, and more than three-fifths of the entire Iban population of the country. In both the Third and Fourth Divisions, they are now the dominant groups in mixed populations.

24. The documentation of the Iban migrations into the valleys of the Rejang is far from complete (especially in its initial stages); but such records as do

[1] In the Population Census of 1947, the Iban (or Sea Dayak) population of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Divisions is shown to be 113,498, while that of Brunei is shown as 1,330. The total population of Sarawak was 546,385, including 190,326 Ibans.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

exist[1] make it possible to outline the principal events. Two main movements may be discerned: 175 167

(*a*) from the Lemanak, Skrang and Layar rivers, into the Entabai, the Julau, and other headwaters of the Kanowit River;

(*b*) from the headwaters of the Batang Lupar, and the Kanyau (a tributary of the Kapuas River, now in Indonesian Borneo), into the Katibas River.

It is with the tracing of the latter movement that we shall be particularly concerned, for it was initiated by people whose descendants now occupy the Baleh (and most of the other tributaries of the Rejang, between the Ngemah and the Pelagus Rapids)—the area to which this report primarily refers.

25. The movement into the Katibas headwaters probably began during the early decades of the nineteenth century. It is not possible to establish a precise chronology. It is known, however, that two of the men who participated in this initial movement were the brothers Naga and Sumping, one of whom was the grandfather of the noted Pengulu Mata Ari, who died at Nanga Sut, in the lower Baleh, on 7th January, 1931,[2] when well over 80 years of age. Mr. E. V. Andreini (then Acting District Officer, Kapit), who visited him at Nanga Sut in 1926, estimated that Mata Ari was born in about 1840[3]. Early in 1850, in a letter to Francis McDougall, the Rajah, Sir James Brooke[4], refers to the already numerous people of the Katibas, Julau, Poi and Kanowit rivers, and by that date, the migrations had probably been in process for several decades. However, the first detailed account of the migration into the Katibas is contained in the journal of the Second Rajah (then Tuan Muda), kept during his arduous pioneer journey from the Batang Lupar to the Batang Rejang, via the Ulu Ai, Sungai Lubang Baya, and the Katibas. On the 5th December, 1861, when passing through the area, the Tuan Muda made this entry in his journal:

"This Katibas river must muster about 10,000 souls; and here is one instance of the rapid increase of inhabitants, as they came here from the Batang Lupar, in which river there are now more than can use the land according to the Dayak method of farming. And these inhabitants seem to be fast clearing every hill in the vicinity of the Katibas river."[5]

Again, several years later (in 1864), when discussing increases in Iban population, the Tuan Muda wrote:

"To offer one instance of the multiplying process, I will mention the upper Batang Lupar river, which has now a population of eighteen or twenty thousand souls residing on it, and has emitted a supply, about fifty years ago, to a neighbouring stream (a tributary of the Rejang),[6] from which a population has now increased to from ten to twelve thousand souls, without the aid of any admixture from other directions.[7]

---

[1]During the period of my research in the Baleh I collected a series of genealogies which reached back to the initial stages of the Iban migrations into the Katibas River; later, in the Second Division, I collected further data, from quite independent sources, which fully confirmed my Baleh material. I nope to be able to publish all this material in detail at a later date.

[2]"Sarawak Gazette," 1931, p. 65.

[3]"Sarawak Gazette," 1927, p. 17.

[4]Sir James Brooke, in a letter to Francis McDougall, dated Penang, April 27th, 1850 (MSS., S. P. G. archives, London).

[5]Charles Brooke, "Ten Years in Sarawak," 1866, vol. 2, p. 192.

[6]i.e.: the Katibas River.

[7]Charles Brooke, 1866, vol. 2, p. 336.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

175 From this evidence, and from genealogies and traditions, it appears that the
167 Iban first began to percolate into the headwaters of the southern tributaries of the Rejang during the first and second decades of the nineteenth century.[1]

175 26. Soon after the middle of the century, those who migrated into the Katibas
167 had reached the main Rejang river. Temenggong Koh (now living in the Baleh
648 headwaters), makes the claim that his maternal grandfather, Ba, was among the
721 first Iban to emerge from the Katibas, and settle on the banks of the Batang Rejang. Their first settlement was in the vicinity of Sungai Song (on the true right bank of the Rejang); but later they moved down river to near the mouth of the Poi, under the instructions of Mr. H. Steele, who since 1851, had been in charge of the Government fort at Kanowit.[2] Following the murder of Steele and Fox, in June, 1859, the Iban of the Katibas joined forces with the Tuan Muda in his punitive expedition against the Kanowits (and others involved), in the nearby Kabah river. This event aggravated the existing enmity between the Iban and the peoples of the upper Rejang (the Kajangs, and the Kayans), and led to retaliatory raids. In December, 1861, when travelling the lower reaches of the Katibas, the Tuan Muda passed the blackened posts of an Iban house which had been burnt during a recent 'treacherous attack' of the Kayans. The Katibas Iban gained their revenge, and most drastically, during the great expedition of 1863, as members of a force of about 12,000 men (from all parts of the country), which, led by the Tuan Muda, ascended the upper Rejang, and launched a crushing attack on its inhabitants. The main objective of this expedition was to avenge the murder of Steele and Fox; but many only very remotely connected with that outrage, suffered in the mass retribution. The Iban vanguard penetrated well beyond the Bakun Rapids of the Balui, taking heads and captives, burning and pillaging. Never again were the Kayans and other inhabitants of the headwaters to offer serious resistance to the Iban occupation of the lower and middle sections of the Rejang. Even prior to 1863, the Iban had begun to occupy land on the banks of the Rejang, above its confluence with the Katibas, for the Tuan Muda mentions that in May, 1863, after passing the mouth of the Katibas, he came upon a few Iban 'farming-grounds' which had been abandoned several years before in consequence of Kayan attacks. With this exception however, it was an uninhabited region, with 'a vegetation luxuriant to the wildest extent.' At Kanowit, in October, 1863, a formal peace was made with the Kayans and other tribes of the interior. The Iban were now free to resume and extend their occupation of the main valley of the Rejang, with its 'rich, untouched vegetation,' and to infiltrate into its numerous minor tributaries.

175 27. A very significant feature of the Iban migrations into the Rejang basin,
167 was the special relationship—symbiotic in character—which existed between the
648 Iban and the Bukitans. The nomadic Bukitans, whose ancestral territory the Rejang was, acted as guides and allies to the more numerous and more accomplished Iban, and under Iban influence they gradually came to follow Iban

[1]The movement into the Kanowit headwaters appears to have occurred some years later than the movement into the Katibas. Writing early in 1859, the Tuan Muda remarked of the Kanowit River: "This stream is inhabited by Sea Dayaks, who have for the last fifteen or twenty years been migrating from the Saribas and Skrang districts for the purpose of obtaining new farming grounds. These exoduses took place overland between one river and another. Such parties would do their four or five days' march, then build their houses, and proceed to farm for one or two years, after which they would recommence their march, and so on . . ." (Charles Brooke, 1866, vol. 1, p. 327).

[2]Francis McDougall, in a letter dated 13th October, 1851 (MSS., S.P.G. archives, London).

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

methods of cultivating rice, and ultimately, to live in long-houses of their own making. The nomadic Ukits, on the other hand, were inveterate opponents of the Iban, and contested their advance at many points, especially in the Baleh area. 175 167 648

First Entry into the Baleh

28. During the decade that followed the peace-making of 1863, the Iban continued to advance, and in 1874, the Government deemed it advisable to build a fort on the low-lying headland that marks the point where the Baleh joins the main flow of the Rejang. Three years later, however, the station was moved several miles down river to its present site at Kapit. No attempt was made to restrain the Iban, and by 1880, the lower reaches of the Baleh river had become quite thickly populated by them. How desirable to Iban eyes must have appeared this great expanse of virgin territory. A shifting-cultivator's paradise! But it was not to be—at least, not immediately. Head-hunting was too deep-rooted an element of Iban culture for it to be abandoned easily. For a period, Government inspired, or Government sanctioned expeditions had provided an outlet, but when these came to an end, privately organized excursions began to take place once more. But the suppression of head-hunting was a major aim of Government policy. When Government did intervene in the Baleh, the Iban responsible refused to submit to the Rajah's authority, and retreated (with their families) to the inaccessible and precipitous ranges at the head of the Mujong (one of the major tributaries of the Baleh river). Two Government expeditions were necessary (both in 1881), before the rebels were forced into surrender. The rebels were punished by heavy fines, and ordered to live below the Kapit fort, and the whole of the Baleh was cleared of Iban, and closed to further settlement. 175 167 648 721

29. Not for long, however, were the Iban to be contained below Kapit fort. Within less than ten years, they began to move overland (by way of Sungai Kapit), to the headwaters of the Sut—a tributary of the forbidden Baleh. When in July, 1899, Kirkpatrick (the Resident at Kapit), paid a visit to the Sut river, he found that its valleys contained 290 doors of Iban, and 21 doors of Bukitans.[1] Their occupation of the area (with its attendant cultivation) was accepted as a fait accompli, and no attempt was made to expel them. 175 167

30. At this same period other sections of the Iban people were embarking on further migrations to the northward—beyond the confines of the Rejang. These movements are described by the Resident, Third Division (H. F. Deshon), in his report to the Rajah for the year 1900: 'During the latter part of 1899, and the commencement of 1900, Your Highness was pleased to accord permission to Dayaks in the Second and Third Divisions to remove without restriction and settle in the rivers on the coast between Igan and Kadurong. About 1,000 doors have availed themselves of this permission, and are now distributed in the Oya, Mukah, Balingian, Tatau and Bintulu rivers, but mostly in the last three named.'[2]

31. But to return to the Kapit district, which is our particular concern. During the early years of the twentieth century, the migration overland from the main Rejang river, into the headwaters of the Sut continued. Thus, the Rajah Muda (C. V. Brooke), following a visit to the Sut river, in May, 1904, reported: 'It is 175 167 648 721

[1] "Sarawak Gazette," 1899, p. 284. The 290 Iban families would represent a population of about 1,650.

[2] "Sarawak Gazette," 1901, p. 59. The 1,000 doors would represent a population of about 5,700.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

175 surprising the number of Dayaks who have moved into the Sut river in recent
167 years. I made all recent arrivals pay to Government $10 a door as guarantees as to
648 future good behaviour, and ordered all down river Dayaks to clear out and return
721 to their own country."[1] At this period, the principal aim of Government policy was to control the head-hunting proclivities of the 'turbulent' Iban, and to prevent attacks being made on the Kayans and other tribes of the upper Rejang. Such restraints as were exercised over Iban occupation of new land, had this end in view. There is no evidence to suggest that any cognizance was taken of the possible ill effects of Iban methods of shifting cultivation. In 1904, the Government was again obliged to attack a group of Iban (men, women and children), who, in defiance of the Rajah's orders, had retreated to Bukit Batu—the mountain fastness at the head of the Mujong river. The attack (directed by Charles Hose, then Resident, Third Division) was successful, and the rebels were compelled to return to the Sut, and to other down river areas.[2]

Second Entry into the Baleh

175 32. For more than ten years, the stream of migration overland from the
167 Rejang into the headwaters of the Sut river had continued. It is clear, that from the very beginning this was nothing more than a way of circumventing the Government ban on the settlement of the Baleh. The main entry being blocked (i.e. by Fort Sylvia, at Kapit), the Iban resorted to a more circuitous route. Early in 1905 they decided to put the Government ban to the test. A large group (led by Pengulu Merum), paddled down the Sut, emerged into the main Baleh river, and settled its banks to about as far upstream as the mouth of the Mujong (i.e. for some five miles above the mouth of the Sut).[3] They must have numbered about 700 souls; an official report mentions that there were 128 doors grouped into 14 different long-houses.[4] Immediately after their arrival they set about the felling of the forest, and the cultivation of their *padi*. This action was a deliberate flouting of Government orders, and the Resident at Kapit at once sent word that all those 'living in the Baleh above the mouth of the Sut,' would have to leave the area at the end of the harvest (i.e. in about April, 1906).[5] In December, 1905, the Resident (I. Kirkpatrick) visited the Iban who were farming in the Baleh, and issued these orders in person.[6]

33. The Iban, in contravening Government regulations, had certainly hoped that they might ultimately get their own way; they can scarcely have expected the sudden volte-face in Government policy which occurred the following year when the aging Rajah visited Kapit. At a meeting held in Kapit on 25th April, 1906, the Rajah announced to the Iban that:

"The Baleh river should be open for occupation by Dayaks as far as the mouth of the Gat river; that no permanent dwellings would be permitted in the side rivers; and that anyone putting up a permanent dwelling beyond the boundary of the Gat river, would be dealt with severely."[7]

---

[1] "Sarawak Gazette," 1904, p. 142.

[2] "Sarawak Gazette," 1904, p. 184; also, Hose and McDougall, "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," 1912, vol. 2, p. 301 seq.

[3] Merum himself, who claimed that he had obtained permission from the Resident, Third Division, settled at Batu Bansa—near the present site (i.e. 1951) of Pengulu Jenggut's long-house, "Sarawak Gazette," 1905, p. 230.

[4] "Sarawak Gazette," 1905, p. 230; and 1906, p. 67.

[5] "Sarawak Gazette," 1906, p. 15.

[6] "Sarawak Gazette," 1906, p. 67.

[7] "Sarawak Gazette," 1906, p. 171.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

34. The Rajah's announcement was followed by a scramble for possession. Most of that area of the Baleh now open for settlement was still unoccupied, and furthermore, it was covered with the virgin forest so dear to the Iban cultivator's heart. Something like a land-rush ensued. Within less than three months, 1,500 *bilek* families had moved into the Baleh, and were "busily engaged quarrelling over farm-land."[1] They had mostly come from the Rejang and its tributaries, between the Katibas and Kapit. In his report to the Rajah, for the year 1906, the Resident, Third Division (C. Hose) described the situation in these words: "The Ulu Ai Dayaks having obtained permission from Your Highness to live in the Baleh, last May a rush was made for that river by all the Dayaks living near Kapit, and it was not until they found that the whole of the farming land in the Baleh had been occupied that the rush ceased. A few have entered the Sut, and some say that they intend to return to the Yong and Chermin rivers again after the harvest, as it is impossible to find sufficient land in the Baleh for their requirements."[2] By the end of 1907, the population of the Baleh had risen to some 1,903 doors, and, according to the Rajah Muda it was the "most thickly populated of any of the Dayak districts."[3]

35. But the Iban cultivator's appetite for fresh tracts of virgin forest was far from satiated. The Rajah Muda foresaw this as early as October, 1907, when he wrote: ". . . . farming land in a few years time will be very hard to get in the Baleh, and the Dayaks will be getting restless to move elsewhere. This will mean that they will want to get into the Mujong, the Gat, or in the main Baleh, above the Gat."[4] This prediction was very swiftly fulfilled. The Rajah's opening of the Baleh seems to have done little to allay Iban ambitions; even more desirable territory, in the tributaries of the Baleh, now lay invitingly close at hand. Moreover Government surveillance was now far less effective, for the fort at Kapit had been passed by, and strategically, the whole situation had changed. An observer who visited the area in 1908 reports that although there was then in the Baleh "plenty of good farming land as yet untouched," the Iban were already planning to move into the Mujong.[5] The occupation of the Mujong—in direct defiance of the Rajah's orders—began in the years 1909 and 1910. Once again it was led by Pengulu Merum, who was doubtless emboldened by the memory of his successful coup of 1905, for on that occasion, although he took the law into his own hands in occupying the Baleh, his action promptly received the seal of the Rajah's approval. Iban testimony shows that following these events the prestige of Merum was tremendous.[6] At about the same time, a similar movement into the Gat river began to take place, and beyond the Gat into the upper reaches of the Baleh.

36. This period of Iban expansion (i.e. from 1905 onwards) was not marked

[1] "Sarawak Gazette," 1906, p. 222.
[2] "Sarawak Gazette," 1907, p. 59.
[3] "Sarawak Gazette," 1908, p. 13 and p. 79.
[4] "Sarawak Gazette," 1907, p. 245.
[5] "Sarawak Gazette," 1908, p. 314.
[6] It is important to note that Pengulu Merum was a Government appointee. His history is an interesting one, for he was one of the principal members of the party of rebels that defied Government in 1881, at Bukit Batu. This was following the murder of a Malay in Sibu by Merum and others. After a lapse of 20 years, however, and while he was still living in the S. Sut, Merum was elected to the position of Pengulu. In April, 1906 (at the same meeting at which he announced the opening of the Baleh to the Iban) the Rajah appointed Merum to be Pengulu Ulu—thus making him responsible to Government for the supervision of Iban settlement in the Baleh headwaters.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

175 36. This period of Iban expansion (i.e. from 1905 onwards) was not marked
●167 by peaceful absorption in the cultivation of *padi*, instead there was a sharp
721 recrudescence of head-hunting. During previous years, head-hunting incidents had occurred fairly regularly, but Government had been able to maintain at least a semblance of control by inflicting heavy fines on the transgressors. The occupation of the Baleh ushered in a new period which was to end in widespread and serious disaffection. A glance at the map will show the special geographical features of the Baleh; from its various tributaries there were feasible overland routes to the headwaters of the Rejang, the Mahakam and the Kapuas, and all these regions were inhabited by enemy tribes. The possibilities before the enterprising head-hunter were endless. As early as 1905, the Resident at Kapit reported to the Rajah Muda in these terms: "I cannot too strongly express to your Highness the restlessness which prevails in the upper waters. The Kayans are unable to farm or work away from their houses for fear of attacks from Dayaks, and even now they are very short of rice. They even talk of removing from the Rejang if this state of affairs continues as they are unable to obtain a livelihood."[1] This state of affairs was to persist until about 1919.

37. The movement of Pengulu Merum and his followers into the Mujong did not, at first, encounter any serious Government opposition, and by 1913, they had penetrated far inland and were farming the virgin hill sides of the Melinau and Tiau—two tributaries of the Mujong river.[2] It was the prelude to organized and open defiance of the Rajah's authority. In other parts of the Baleh similar unsanctioned expansion was taking place. There was steady infiltration into the Gat, and in 1913, another group of Iban, far exceeding the limits laid down by the Rajah in 1906, ascended the Baleh and entered the Merirai river.[3] These unauthorized movements were coupled with further illicit head-hunting, and finally the Government was impelled to take action. In February, 1915, a punitive expedition was launched against the Iban of the Gat river, and three months later, a large Government force attacked Merum and his followers, who had taken up a defensive position on Bukit Salong (in the Melinau headwaters), and declared themselves to be beyond the Rajah's power. They had believed their stronghold to be impregnable, but it quickly fell before the shelling of the Rajah's force, and its occupants fled, scattering to elude their attackers. Soon after this defeat, Merum and the majority of his followers surrendered themselves at Kapit, but there were some who still refused to recognize the Rajah's authority, and who joined the rebels of the Gat. For the most part, they were young men intent on further head-hunting and trouble-making.

38. Sporadic incidents continued to occur, but in April, 1916, a large party of rebels bound on a head-hunting foray, were surprised at Nanga Pila, in the upper Rejang, by a Government force, which, though numerically inferior, was well armed with rifles. In the encounter that ensued about 200 of the Iban lost their lives, and many were wounded. But even this severe defeat did not entirely quench the fiery spirits of the rebels; and the year 1918 saw a series of minor, though flagrant incidents. In March of that year, for example, a party of Gat rebels killed three Kayans within the very precincts of the Kapit fort.[4] In 1918, the Government again took action, by dispatching an expedition to the Gat for a second time. A large force (complete with Maxim gun) ascended the Gat river,

[1] "Sarawak Gazette," 1905, p. 230.
[2] "Sarawak Gazette," 1914, p. 27.
[3] "Sarawak Gazette," 1914, p. 43.
[4] "Sarawak Gazette," 1918, p. 91.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

destroying long-houses and *padi* fields, and driving the last of the rebels over the border, where they were in due course interned by the Dutch authorities, and handed over to the Government of Sarawak. The entire Baleh region was now empty of Iban. Those occupying the main river and the Mujong had been removed to below Kapit during the year 1915; and those in the Sut river (who were suspected of assisting the rebels of the Gat) had been compelled to leave early in 1918.

The Third Entry into the Baleh

39. The Baleh remained deserted during the next three years, until in 1922, the Iban were granted permission to re-occupy the river. And so for a third time these headstrong people, with their insatiable appetite for fresh areas of virgin forest, moved into the valleys of the Baleh. Both in the 1870's and in 1905, they had acted on their own initiative in occupying the Baleh, and even after the Rajah's approval had been granted in 1906, they were left very largely to their own devices. In fact, most of these Iban of the headwaters were then still a power unto themselves. It is abundantly clear—whatever may have been their protestations—that most of them gave no real recognition to the Rajah's sovereignty, but instead were temporizing as best they could, with a power which was to them both alien and irksome. By 1922, the situation had changed; the defeat at Nanga Pila, and the Mujong and Gat expeditions had forced the rebel Iban into submission, and for the first time, something like effective government was established. The re-occupation of the Baleh was carried out under close Governmental supervision.

40. However, not all of the Iban were involved in the disaffection we have been discussing; other groups, with more discerning leaders remained wholly obedient to the Rajah's authority. Thus in 1913, when Pengulu Merum and his followers were moving into the Melinau river in wilful defiance of Government orders, Koh and his followers, in response to the Rajah's suggestion, left their land in the Sungai Sut, and moved down river to Nanga Dia—a short distance below the Kapit fort—where they began the systematic planting of rubber and cassava. The Government had hopes that other Iban from the Baleh would follow this "good example." In that same year the Rajah appointed Koh to be a Pengulu. Koh, himself, was a recently reformed head-hunter—some ten years previously he had led a large scale raid against the Badangs (a tribe of Kenyah) of the Plieran, and then lived, for a time, as an outlaw in the remote headwaters of the Sut. But having acquired the prestige of a successful head-hunter, he soon came to adopt other tactics. He had the intelligence to realize the essential superiority of the Rajah's power, and the foresight to perceive the inevitable outcome of any attempt to defy that power by trial of arms. Accordingly, compliance and then active co-operation with the Rajah's government, became his guiding principles.

41. When, in 1922, the re-occupation of the Baleh took place, Pengulu Koh was given pride of place at the head of the river, while his son, Semada,[1] and his son-in-law, Grinang (both newly appointed Pengulu) were allotted similar positions in the Mujong and Gat rivers. Such a position at the head of a river was highly prized, for it meant direct access to the immediately adjacent areas of unexploited virgin forest. But the privileges of the Pengulus were accompanied by certain duties. In the main Baleh river, and all its major tributaries, points

[1]Pengulu Semada has now been succeeded by Pengulu Sibat, his sister's son.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

were fixed by Government, beyond which no Iban settlement or farming was permitted. It was one of the duties of the Pengulus to guard these points, and to report to Government any breach of the regulations. By October, 1923, about 95 long-house communities had re-occupied the Baleh and its tributaries.[1] Government regulations covering the authorized limits of Iban settlement were laid down, and—at the outset—strictly enforced. In January, 1924, for example, Pengulu Grinang reported that a group of Iban had entered Sungai Puru (a side stream of the Gat) in defiance of the regulations; in the following April, the long-house of these law-breakers was burnt down by the District Officer, Kapit, and a party of Rangers.[2]

Iban Rights in the Baleh Region

42. This leads us to the important point that none of the Baleh Iban (or, for that matter, any of the Iban living north of the main Rejang river), possess prescriptive or truly traditional rights over their lands. The territory from the mouth of the Rejang to Kidurong Point was ceded to the First Rajah by the Sultan of Brunei, in 1861. Thus the whole of the Baleh region had passed into the hands of Government at least ten years before its first occupation by the leading Iban migrants from the Second Division. Furthermore, from the very commencement of Iban settlement in the Baleh there has been a Government station in the immediate area—the first fort having been established at Nanga Baleh in 1874. To-day, many Iban claim that they have traditional rights over Baleh land, saying that it has been handed down from their remote ancestors. Europeans unacquainted with the detailed history of the Kapit District are apt to be misled by this specious claim, and if Government policy in the area is to be properly implemented, it is of cardinal importance that the historical facts be fully established, and clearly understood by all.

43. All re-settlement in the Baleh was under Government supervision, each long-house community having land formally apportioned to it. The period was also marked by widespread re-organization of long-house communities. Those families which had remained faithful to the Rajah's authority were allowed to return to more favourable sites than those who had openly defied Government or tacitly supported the rebels. Consequently there was much re-grouping of families into new or different communities. In general then, the land tenure situation, and the present dispersal of long-houses in the Baleh area, are the direct outcome of the historical events we have been discussing. In other words they have been determined primarily by Government policy, and should not be viewed as being the spontaneous expression of tendencies inherent in Iban society.

44. When re-settlement took place each of the various long-house communities was allotted a specified tract of land.[3] This tract usually bordered a section of one of the main rivers or streams, and boundaries with neighbouring long-houses were either tributary streams or well-defined ridges that demarcated a watershed. Re-occupation was en masse, for during the first year 95 communities (i.e. probably between 1,300 and 1,400 *bilek* families) established themselves in the Baleh and its side streams. Then, as now, there was no detailed

[1] "Sarawak Gazette," 1924, p. 22.
[2] "Sarawak Gazette," 1924, p. 93 and p. 198.
[3] "Sarawak Gazette," 1924, p. 22.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

survey of the Baleh area, and although the allocation of territories was under general Governmental surveillance, there seems to have been no formal registration of titles. In the absence of a detailed survey, it is not possible to give accurate figures for the extent of the various long-house territories, but from those which I was able to inspect it seems that they ranged from about five to fifteen square miles.

Principles of Land Tenure among the Iban

45. As already noted the territory allotted to a long-house community is not held in communal ownership, but rather all the *bilek* families of the community have equal rights of access to the land. That is, these rights of access are held in common as against the members of all other long-houses. Actual family ownership is established by the felling of primary jungle (*kampong*), and this is always undertaken by individual *bilek* families. By clearing the virgin forest from a tract of land, a *bilek* family secures full discretionary rights over the secondary jungle (*damun*) which springs up within a few months of the first *padi* harvest, and thereafter, for as long as it remains in the local community, this *bilek* family retains ownership of all land, for the initial cultivation of which it has been responsible. Once land has been acquired in this way it becomes part of the general property of the *bilek*, and is inherited in the same way as are the other valuables of the family. That is, land is inherited by the *bilek* family as such, and all those who remain members of this local group possess parcenary rights in the land which it has acquired. Marrying out of one's natal group involves the relinquishment of these rights, and the assumption of similar interests in one's marital *bilek* family, these circumstances applying both to men and to women.

46. When the partition of a *bilek* family occurs, both sections retain the right to farm land acquired prior to this event. There is thus no formal partition of the land, as there is of the moveable effects of the *bilek*, but rather a joint sharing of rights of access to the secondary jungle that was once common property. The usufruct of this secondary jungle is decided in conference between the two sections of the *bilek* when the occasion arises. In course of time therefore, it is parcelled out for re-use, and in this way each part of the original *bilek* family establishes presumptive tenure of the *damun* land which it puts into cultivation for a second time. However, all virgin jungle felled by either section subsequent to partition is independently owned from the outset.

The Settlement of New Territory

47. When pioneering new territory it is customary for a group of *bilek* families (the number may vary from three or four to more than a dozen) to work side by side. This has many advantages; it means that animal pests are kept under better control, that there is opportunity for the formation of co-operative groups (based on the principle of reciprocity) which make easier the formidable task of felling several acres of primeval rain-forest, and that all the families concerned can live together in a single *dampa*, which, though smaller in scale, is constructed on exactly the same principles as a long-house. The Baleh country is very broken and extremely well watered, with innumerable side spurs rising abruptly to straggling and uneven ridges that vary from several hundred to a thousand feet and more in height. The usual pattern of exploitation is for a group of *bilek* families to begin in the lower reaches of a tributary stream. As far as possible, each *bilek* family selects a separate spur, and commencing at the foot moves up it until the crest of the ridge is reached. The average area of an Iban farm (*umai*) is

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

Part V

IBAN METHODS OF LAND USAGE

Introduction

261. In their natural state the hills of the Baleh region (i.e. up to about 1,000 feet) are covered with tropical, lowland, evergreen rain-forest. It is with this kind of forest that we shall be dealing in discussing land usage, for nowhere in the Baleh did I encounter Iban farming ridges more than 1,000 feet in height, though many farm clearings approached to within one or two hundred feet of this level. Prior to 1880, the forests over almost the entire Baleh basin were primeval.[1] To the Iban virgin jungle is the most highly valued of all resources: by felling it, rights over land are acquired, and, if weather conditions be favourable, virgin land yields crops of exceptional abundance for two years in succession. The "rich, untouched vegetation" of the Baleh was, to the Iban, the most inviting of prizes, and desire to exploit it was the over-ruling incentive of their advance and an important motive in prompting their fierce attacks on alien tribes that stood in the way. Head-hunting and a craving for virgin land went hand in hand. During the past eighty years, hundreds of thousands of acres have been felled and farmed, so that to-day aerial photographs of the Baleh show complex mosaics in which remaining enclaves of virgin forest are surrounded and interspersed with secondary jungle at many different stages of regeneration.

Iban Terminology for the Main Stages of Land Usage

262. Every land usage cycle begins with the felling of an area of primeval forest—the area felled varying from about three to eight acres according to the size of the *bilek* family concerned. For the primeval forest and the various types of secondary growth which result from the cultivation sequences that follow its felling, the Iban have a special set of terms. These terms conveniently summarize the main stages in land usage. Briefly they are as follows:

(*a*) The general term for primeval jungle is *kampong*, but it is commonly qualified—as in the phrases *kampong dalam* (lit. deep jungle), and *kampong amat* (lit. true jungle)—to signify that it has never before been felled.

(*b*) After felling the *kampong* is fired, and when this stage is reached, the farm land is referred to as *tegalan*. *Padi* is dibbled in betwixt and between the charred remains of the fallen trees, carefully tended throughout its growing period, and finally reaped. The stubble that remains when the harvest is over (i.e. in about April) is the *jerami*. Within a few months there is robust regeneration accompanied by coppice growth; in fact, it begins at the end of the weeding (i.e. early in January), so that by August the farm is covered with a dense scrub several feet in height. This scrub—the next important stage to be distinguished—is called *krukoh*; and if it is scrub that has resulted from the felling the year before of

[1] According to Iban informants there were a few limited areas of secondary jungle which had resulted from the activities of the Lugat. The Lugat were a tribe (allied to the Kajang peoples of the upper Rejang) who formerly occupied the Baleh, but were driven out by Iban attacks.

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

burn. One of the hazards of farming virgin jungle is the Borneo climate. In the interior of Sarawak the rainfall is heavy, and falls of 160 inches and more per annum are not uncommon. In general, June and July are the driest months, but the rainfall is never really low. Records taken at Kapit, for the four years 1948–1951, show a monthly mean of 7·66 inches for June, and 8·17 inches for July. But this comparatively 'dry period' cannot be relied upon. In 1949, for example, 17·40 inches fell in May, 9·55 inches in June, 11·33 inches in July, 13·81 inches in August, and 12·76 inches in September; so that in this year there was no *kamarau*, or dry season. When adverse weather, such as this, is encountered, *kampong* farms suffer the most, for virgin forest needs a longer 'dry period' than any other type of jungle. In contrast, slashed *krukoh* requires the briefest dry spell of all, and will burn well after about five days of tropical sunshine. Even in adverse years a brief span of hot, dry weather often occurs, and *krukoh* land can often be successfully fired under conditions inadequate for the proper firing of an *umai kampong*.

272. But there are also several other factors which prompt Iban addiction to *krukoh* farming. Of most importance is the fact that, in general, the yield obtained from *krukoh* land is usually as good—and not infrequently better—than the yield taken from *kampong* land. The *krukoh* scrub which springs up after the first harvest is vigorous and contains few, if any, of the weeds that are the great bugbear of the Iban farmer. Thus, when *krukoh* has been slashed and burned, the land is still predominantly free from weed infestation, and at the same time there is sufficient richness in the soil to assure a second crop of excellent quality. A thoroughly burnt *krukoh* farm may well produce a heavier crop than a poorly fired *kampong* farm. The Iban are fully aware that good virgin land is capable, under favourable conditions, of producing two consecutive crops of the highest quality; and it is understandable—if not excusable—that they should yield to the temptation of trying to grow and reap them. That two successive and abundant crops can be harvested from *kampong* land is an undoubted fact, and it is important that this should be realized. It is also true that successive cropping inflicts permanent injury on the land; but cognizance of this consequence calls for an appreciation of principles of good husbandry which the Iban—alas—do not possess.

Iban Prodigality

273. Of the fact that the Iban are prodigal of the land there can be no doubt. They are, indeed, *mangeurs de bois*. It is not difficult to explain why they have become like this. Ever since they broke into the Rejang basin more than a hundred years ago, the Iban have had before them limitless tracts of virgin rain-forest. As the Tuan Muda (later Sir Charles Brooke—the Second Rajah of Sarawak) records in his journal of 1863, the middle Rejang and the Baleh were, at that time virtually uninhabited, and "clothed with rich, untouched vegetation"; with virgin forests that were "luxuriant to the wildest extent". From their numerous forays into Kayan country, the Iban well knew the vastness of these primeval forests—which were theirs for the taking. In these circumstances of super-abundance, the forest became an expendable resource. The impulse of the Iban was to extract all the wealth they could from the nearest virgin land, and then move on to fresh fields. (This also had the effect of opening up many new opportunities for head-hunting, the looting of enemy property, and the taking of slaves). In a sense, the Iban became semi-nomadic, for in one generation many *bilek* families moved forward, in stages, over fifty to a hundred miles of territory,

1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

devouring virgin jungle as they went. But unlike true nomads, the Iban did not retrace their steps; there was little inducement to return to inferior secondary jungle when virgin forests beckoned them on. It is clear that the *krukoh* method of farming has long been an essential feature of the Iban system of shifting cultivation, and that it has gone hand in hand with the remarkable advanee of the Iban into the Rejang basin and beyond.

Other Advantages of the Krukoh Method

274. *Krukoh* farming is a method then, of quickly extracting the maximum return from virgin land. But it also has other advantages, in Iban eyes. One of these is the fact that, should it become necessary, a group of women can handle a *krukoh* farm without male assistance. In cases where the men of a *bilek* family are absent on journeys (*bejalai*), or prevented from working because of mishap or sickness, the women are able to meet these situations by re-cultivating (*bekrukoh*) the whole of their farm of the previous year. Again, in many long-house communities there are one or two *bilek* families without adult male members. Commonly they are the households of widows with young children. (Both at Rumah Nyala and Rumah Sibat there were families of this kind). These families, it will be clear, are not able to farm virgin jungle. Usually, by means of the *bedurok* system (Para. 183-190), they exchange their services (in slashing, etc.) with other households, and so manage to obtain male assistance in felling secondary jungle (e.g. *damun* or *dijap*). However there are sometimes difficulties in making this arrangement, and there is a tendency for families lacking mature males, to resort to *krukoh* (and *pangkal*) farming, rather more often than do normal households. Further, such families are often granted the temporary use of *krukoh*, *pangkal* or *dijap* growth, on land belonging to their kith or kin. This is also a common practice when a new *bilek* family joins a long-house. Such newcomers are liable to arrive after felling has begun, and they are almost always faced with the pressing task of having to build an apartment for themselves. In these circumstances they are often given the use of a tract of *krukoh* or *dijap* on land belonging to kinsfolk, for both these types of growth can be rapidly slashed towards the end of the felling period.

275. It may also be noted that the *krukoh* method makes it feasible for a *bilek* family to extend the area of its farm when this is required by special needs. When a *gawai* is to be staged, or when the important last rites for the dead have to be performed, extra supplies of *padi* are required. Usually a *bilek* family will attempt to secure this *padi* by increasing the area of its main farm, or by establishing a *tampas*, or subsidiary farm. Typically these extensions are in *krukoh* or *dijap*, for such young secondary growth can be speedily slashed at the end of the normal felling period, and yet be dry in time to permit a satisfactory burn. Although the *krukoh* method is primarily associated with the farming of virgin forest (*kampong*) it is also adopted—as we shall see—when mature secondary jungle (*damun*) is being worked.

276. From what has been said so far, it will be seen that the *krukoh* system is a customary method of land usage, which—from a short-term point of view—possesses a number of very real advantages. In drawing attention to these advantages, I am in no sense condoning the *krukoh* method, for it is in my opinion an entirely pernicious practice; but it is important—and especially for those concerned in designing remedial measures—to realize how prevalent the *krukoh* system is, and how deeply it is rooted in the traditional economy of the Iban people.

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

Summary of Tusut and other data to date.

173 As far back to the days of Sengalang Burong, great hero of the Sea Dayaks, these people had lived along the Kapuas and its tributaries in South-east (now Indonesian) Borneo (see Genealogy I). His grandson Surong Gunting was said to live somewhere on the Tiang Laju Range, between the upper Marup and Undup headwaters on the west side of the central watershed (now in Sarawak).

173 101 All the Sea Dayaks, being the descendants of Sengalang Burong, have broadly the same language and custom. On the other hand the Land Dayaks (such as Selakau, Rara, Remun, Dempu, Singgai, Kuap and others) are in a different category from the Sea Dayaks. The Land Dayaks do not celebrate the "Gawai Burong" (bird) festival, due to the fact they are *not* the descendants of Sengalang Burong, the founder of the cult. They speak another language.

173 167 While Surong Gunting was still living in Merakai (one of the tributaries of the Kapuas) before he migrated west to Tiang Laju, he held a historic conference to organize the migration routes to Batang Ai (see Genealogies I and II.)

It was from Merakai that an ancestor, Kajup, was ordered (by Surong Gunting) to lead his followers to migrate and settle in the Undup River, whose mouth is just above Simanggang. Next to him another, Jelian, moved from Merakai to the Undup and lived at Wong Tempangu. From this village Jelian married a woman named Tiong, daughter of the famous Kantu chief.

A few years later another chief named Gelungan came out of Merakai, to lead his followers to live in Undup; but later he moved again with his people to live at Balau Hill, not far below the present town of Simanggang. Because Balau Hill was the first settlement where those people lived, they call themselves "Balau Dayak" to this day. In the same manner, those who inhabited the Undup River call themselves "Undup Dayak".

While living at Balau Hill, Gelungan married a woman named Sendi; and soon after this marriage he left his original followers, and moved to Balu Sebuyau, a branch of the Batang Lupar, near

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

its mouth. As they were living here these people, however, got a new name for themselves and are known today as "Sebuyau Dayak". 173 167

Eventually, after the death of the chief, Gelungan, a new generation arose and migrated to Lundu, Samarahan and Meredang Gayam. But because they were of Sebuyau origin, they still regard themselves as "Sebuyau Dayak" to this day; often they stress they are *quite* unlike other Sea Dayaks (which is not true).

Having been widowed by Gelungan, Sendi re-married a Skrang chief named Guang. It was said that this marriage was inspired in a dream, by a spirit. The spirit told them that if they married, their descendants after them would become great and wealthy. When Sendi came to live with Guang she brought with her seven male and seven female slaves, just to show that she was a woman of authority.

Now, from Tiang Laju mountain, after the death of Surong Gunting, his people moved to upper Marup, near the town of Engkilili. Then, from upper Marup, a chief named Ambau moved to build a longhouse at Pengkalan Tabau in the Batang Ai.

The other migration leaders were men like Lanong, who led his people to build their longhouse at Rantau Langkong; Gunggu, who lived with his people at Meriyu, below the Engkilili station. One of the most famous Chiefs, named Kanyong, whose nickname was "Gendang Ketebong", led his people to build a very commanding longhouse at Merarang Cape on the midway from Engkilili to Lubok Antu. From this longhouse of Kanyong originated the Sea Dayak custom known as *"Pati Nyawa"* which means compensation (see later) is now incorporated in colony law. It so happened, at that time, that some of the followers of Semalanjat of Bungkap went out to the jungle to hunt; and one of them was accidently killed by the followers of Kanyong. Due to this killing, Semalanjat was furious; he planned an attack against Kanyong and his people. On hearing this, Kanyong invited other chiefs such as Kajup of Undup, Ambau of Pangkalan Tabau and Medan of Sengkarong Langkang, to help defend his house at Merarang Cape. Being a diplomatic man, Meringai of Skrang came down to see them immediately, with the intention of settling their problem amicably. Thus the proposed 173 167 628

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

attack was successfully avoided and an agreement was reached that, in case of death due to accident, the guilty party had to pay compensation to the injured party. Here, then, began a very important custom of compensation, *"Pati Nyawa"*, among the Sea Dayak. It has saved thousands of lives in vengeance.

Another ancestor, named Medan, led his people to live at Meruan Sengkarong Langkang, not far below the mouth of Lemanak in the Batang Ai. A chief named Semalanjat left Tiang Laju mountain with his people to live at Bungkap. In the meeting before their separation it was decided that each chief should go his own way and not meddle with the other's internal affairs, except to render any possible aid at the time of war against enemies. The only important enemies of these people (in those days) were the Kantu and Bugau people in the Indonesian territory. The enmity was originally started in the days of Sarapoh, a cousin of Sengalang Burong himself.

In those days Dayaks were beginning to be padi planters. *In addition*, they planted yams, tapioca and other crops, now seldom found in the present generation. They had no festivals other than Birds, Stones and "Gawai Antu", the festival for the spirits.

* * * * *

From Batang Ai a chief name Meringai led another party to migrate to Skrang River, while one of his fellow chiefs named Manggi migrated into Tisak, a tributary of Skrang, and settled there. Manggi was a very brave man, soon enobled with nickname "Engkeratong Gendang". When he was living here, it happened that his daughter fell sick. He sent two of his men to invite Manang Jelapi, a Balau wizard from Stirau, to doctor her. When Manang Jelapi arrived, Manggi swore that if his daughter could be cured, he would not hesitate to consent to her marrying Jelapi's son. Hearing this, Manang Jelapi was very pleased; and he started to perform his witch-craft to cure the sick girl. Fortunately, next day she was well again. Before he returned home, Jelapi enquired from Manggi when he should come again to talk over the proposed marriage between their children. Manggi denied he knew of any such proposal. Jelapi declared that Manggi really *did* make a promise to the effect that he would consent to his daughter's marriage to Jelapi's son if he (Jelapi) could cure her from illness. But Manggi violently denied this and swore he had

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

never mentioned such a thing. After long argument, Jelapi was very angry; he returned home ashamed and furious. 173

A week later, this same girl was taken ill again. Manggi suspected that her soul must have been stolen by Jelapi, in his wroth. Eventually the girl died. In his grief over his daughter's death, Manggi arranged for two of his men to go to Stirau and persuade Jelapi to come over. "If he refuses," said Manggi, "snatch away his medicine box (*lupong*) by force; then, if he follows you, kill him as revenge for my daughter's death".

Two of his men went out accordingly. They reached Stirau. One of them went up to Jelapi's house, while the other waited at the landing stage. On his arrival at Jelapi's house, the man told Jelapi that he was sent by Manggi to fetch him to cure his daughter, who was ill again. Jelapi refused to go—since, he, Manggi did not keep his promise. He could not be persuaded; he was afraid of being deceived twice.

Following Manggi's instructions, his man snatched up Jelapi's medicine box and ran off with it. Jelapi followed him, running behind; and while passing the other man, hiding at the landing stage, he was attacked and killed instantly. Immediately Jelapi died, the horizon turned dark and the wind blew fierce over the land, followed by a great storm. Jelapi's body was miraculuously transformed into a huge boulder, known as "Batu Jelapi", situated at Stirau in the Batang Lupar River.

After the death of his daughter, Manggi moved again, and had his house built in the middle reaches of the Tisak. In Tisak river there were (and still are) plenty of big "tapah" (carp) fish. So Manggi and his people habitually made fish traps for them. One morning, as Manggi came down to examine the catch, he found one of his traps had caught two huge fish; these he brought home with him. 173 167

While he was opening the belly of one fish he discovered three beautiful plates, which he kept—they remain in the possession of his descendants to this day. It is said that if a male child is to be born in this family, he must be given his first bath from one of these sacred plates. Thence he moved up the Tisak and finally went down the Meludam River. From the Meludam he

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

173 went up the Saribas and built a temporary house at Semaruang, then removed to live at Supa. Before he completed building his 167 house at Supa, he heard that the Rimbas region was full of Serus (pre-Dayaks) who occasionally invaded the Paku and Layar Dayaks in the upper Saribas. In order to negotiate the Serus peacefully, he went overland to Rimbas; but when he reached Debak, unfortunately, he was taken ill and died. His body was buried at Debak. Because Manggi was buried there, this cemetry is known to this day as his.

173 After his death the house which he left half-built at Supa was deserted by his followers; consequently this place is called "Burok Rumah" (rotten house) to this day.

[167] There was another chief, named Magal (whose nickname was "Begagah Lubok Medang"), who left Skrang in company with his followers to live at a place called Blai Paku Mati. While he was living here it happened that some of his people went out to catch Argus Pheasants. When they had caught one, they brought it home to kill it; then put it on the winnower basket to dress it. While they left it, to fetch their knives for dressing it, the bird suddenly made an unhappy lowtoned sound "*ngembau*". Upon hearing this they looked at it closely and found a small knife stuck in its throat. This knife they picked out and kept; and at the same time thought that it must have been given by the goddesses Kumang and Indai Abang respectively—so that any women who used it would become expert blanket and cloth weavers, as well as clever mat-makers.

The meat of the Argus Pheasant was afterwards cooked; and those who participated in eating it were therefore cursed (*tau tepang*). These cursed persons were possessed with evil tongues. Being so, their descendants, through to the present day, are hardly able to marry others, who regarded and regard them still as under this dreadful curse.

Another famous ancestor, named Chaong, lived in the Skrang and had a longhouse with his followers at the tip of Lipat Cape. After his death, his son Tindin was installed as his successor. Tindin was brave, energetic and reportedly good at administering the affairs of his people. When he was living at Lipat, Tindin dreamed that he was met by a goddess Indai Kumang, who gave

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

him charms so that he could always be successful in wars; she also swore to him that seven of his future descendants would become leaders of war. Not long afterwards Tindin moved from Lipat up the Enteban river, to clear the virgin jungle for the everlasting possession of his people.

From upper Enteban he explored the Layar and Padeh regions in Saribas (Sarawak, 2nd Division). These districts had long been the homes of aboriginals, such as the nomadic Punans and the Bukitans, just as the Rimbas and Krian were peopled by Serus—all people living here long before the Dayaks moved west.

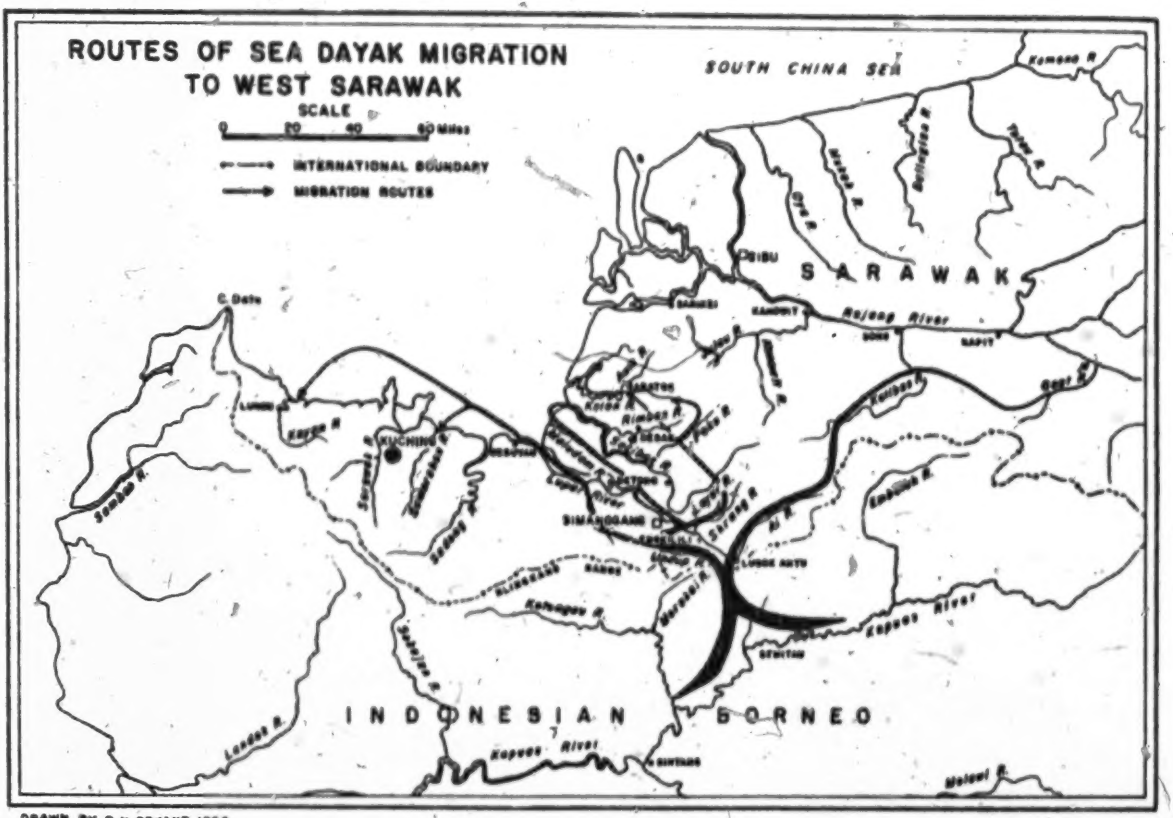
* * * * *

Hearing that Paku region was a very fertile land but the home of the Bukitan, Tindin declared war on them. Entingi, a Bukitan chief, heard news of this and called his people to an urgent meeting, seeking their opinion whether to defend themselves in their own country or to seek the enemy in enemy country. In the end they thought it best not to fight in their own territory; for they feared lest, in case of defeat, the lives of their women and children would be in danger. So Entingi agreed to lead them to seek the invaders in their territory.

As he felt sure that Tindin would lead his invading troops by the route from the upper Enteban across the Padeh and down the Geraji, towards Layar river, Entingi led his men from Paku towards Enteban, in order to attack Tindin on the way. But as they reached the Tinting Kayu Ukir (Empelai Tinggi Bandir Range) the two opposing troops unexpectedly met—and here they fought. They fought hard. Neither side showed a will to surrender. Meanwhile, Entingi called Tindin by the Bukitan word *isan,* which meant cousin in the Dayak language. "Why do you called me *isan,*" replied Tindin, "have you any son?" "Yes, I have a son," said Entingi. "Now let us sit down," said Entingi, "to try and resolve our misunderstanding peacefully." Tindin was glad at hearing these gracious words from the headman of his enemy; he agreed to end the fighting, in order to reason out their quarrel.

Tindin then declared it would be wise and proper if Entingi, who claimed he had a son, at once agreed to a marriage between

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6



DRAWN BY R H BRYANT, 1956

167

[R 64a]

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

167

[p.64b]

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

A year later Rinda gave birth to her eldest male child followed by four more (cf. Genealogy II):

Rinda (*f*) X Demong.....		Kalanang, Kelimbang,
(Dayak)	(Bukitan)	Bundak, Jawai (*f*), and Bakak.

Unfortunately, Jawai, Demong's only daughter, died when she was about fifteen years of age. But, because she was of noble birth, her body was *not* buried in the ordinary Sea Dayak way (in the ground). Instead the corpse was respectfully kept in a coffin. This coffin was not buried, but closed and put on a platform raised about six feet from the ground, to await the decomposition of the flesh. This method of preserving the dead of the noble families, as well as the place of preserving them, was known as *lumbong*. The site of Jawai's *lumbong* is still known, though such practices nowadays have been abandoned, just as their orginators, the Bukitans, have disappeared.

* * * * *

Turn to Tindin again. He came with his Dayak followers by boat from Skrang to Paku. On his arrival he first settled at a place called Penggan, afterwards moved to Melanyut Cape, where he died of old age and was greatly mourned by both the Sea Dayaks and the Bukitans.

After Tindin's death his people multiplied rapidly, while on the other hand the Bukitans decreased—partly because of the regular epidemics and partly due to Dayak migration from upper Paku towards Julau and upper Rejang by Entigu and his followers.

Tindin's daughter, Rinda, died soon after giving birth to her last child, Bakak. Later Demong remarried. This time he married a Bukitan woman, named Lemia, from whom he had many children. These children afterwards all married women of their mother's race.

Demong was by now an aged man and knew that the time would soon come when he had to die, leaving all his children on their own. Being a man of foresight, he made a plan to safeguard both the interests of all the children by the first wife and those of the second wife. To carry this out he erected a stone at a

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

place not far from the mouth of Awas, in upper Krian River. This erected stone served, through Demong's personal ruling, as a boundary for his children by the first wife and the other children by the second wife—that is, all the children begot by the first wife would own the old land lying from the Paku River and lower Krian as far as the erected stone only; and all the children begot by the second wife would own the new land lying from that stone towards the Julau and Rejang Rivers. However, the first group was allowed to pass beyond the stone; and second group was not allowed to turn back towards the old lands behind that stone.

This stone, which was erected by Demong a few hundred years ago, is still intact. And strange as it was, Demong's ruling about the division of land among his children is still followed up to the present generation. People from Paku and lower Krian have gone over to the Rejang; but not one from the Rejang has ever returned to that former land.

* * * * *

After the death of Demong, all the children of his first wife, except Bakak, lived and multiplied in the Paku. Bakak, in his young days, wandered to Batang Ai, where he married and later died (of old age).

There were scores of notable Sea Dayak leaders who came to live in Layar, Padeh, Paku and Rimbas after the death of Tindin. They were Temegoh of Bangkit, Talap of Pasa, Duau of Luban, Gerijeh of Padeh, Patinggi Ngadan of Layar. Jenua of Pusa, Padang of Undai and some others. The names of all these leaders survive in songs and genealogies.

* * * * *

The migration to Krian was comparatively recent. It took place about 1800 A.D. by the Saribas Dayaks. Early in 1956 the collector of this data travelled to Kelaka, to find out from various people there the history of that river.

Linggi anak Nyanggau of Kemidan, Awik, Saratok, made the following statement:

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

173
167

"It was because the Saribas District was over populated. Therefore all the leading Chiefs decided to ask some of the most reliable, brave warriors to lead new migrations to the Krian. During this time, Krian was still thickly populated by the Serus, who in those days had frequently attacked the Dayaks of Paku and Rimbas Rivers. The largest Seru village of that time was situated at Nanga Diso in the Awik River. Therefore, in order to get rid of the Serus as well as to effect the migration, the leading Dayak warriors made this large village of the Serus their target".

The first Sea Dayak migration to the lower Krian was led by Temenggong Tandok who built his commanding house at Nanga Melupa. How he obtained the rank of "Temenggong" is still unanswered; though many people believed that this honour was bestowed upon him by the Malay chief, Molana of Kalaka, who bestowed the rank of Orang Kaya on the two chiefs of Rimbas, Gun (Orang Kaya Mangku Bumi) and his brother Antau (Orang Kaya Linggang Negri) respectively.

At about this time one of the Paku chiefs, named Bayang, migrated with his followers to the upper Krian, was followed later by many others who joined him to drive out the Bukitans from the country. During the whole lifetime of Temenggong Tandok and Bayang, they were both unceasingly engaged in war with Serus and Bukitans, though the former resisted to the last.

* * * * *

In about 1839 another migration was planned. This time it was decided that Sa and Entri were to explore the land in Awik river, a right hand branch of the Krian. They discovered that the land in question was very fertile and suitable for farming. They returned home; unfortunately soon after their arrival they both died. Due to this accident, the proposed migration was delayed until the mourning period was over.

Eventually, three years after the death of Sa and Entri, an eldest son of the former named Enchana (whose nickname was "Letan") led the proposed migration overland. Upon arriving at Krian River they built a number of boats for them to go up the Awik. On the way, while about to get into Awik River, they

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

On the way, while about to get into Awik River, they[1] heard an omen (*Jaloh Kanan*) bird shrieking from their right hand side. This omen, it was believed, indicated that they all would always be successful in both planting padi and in fighting their enemies. The future men of their tribe would always be lucky in their undertakings; but the average of their age would be shorter than that of the women's. The place where these people first settled was at Lubok Gamba.

About five years later two parties came out of the Saribas to migrate to the Sablak and Sabetan rivers in Krian. In the early years of their arrival in these two rivers, they both fought hard with the last Serus, who had been driven out of Awik and who now kept on opposing the permanent settlement of Dayak migration in those districts. Finally, after a long war, fought continuously between their opposing parties, the Serus surrendered and the victorious Sea Dayaks took their land.

After their defeat almost all the remaining Serus took refuge with the Malays and later adopted the Muslim religion. Today, though these live together in the same villages with the Malays, they still claim that they are of Seru origin, inspite of their cultural changes. Only one remains pagan.

* * * * *

The migration of the Sea Dayak to Entabai, Julau and other places in the Rejang took place around 1840-1850 from various places such as Delok, Lubang Baya, Lemanak, Skrang and Saribas.

There were many other later Dayak migrations, after 1850, sponsored by the Brookes, to other rivers in the Third Division, later spreading to the Fourth and Fifth Divisions just before, during and after the Second World war. The process continues . . . .

[1] [A party of Iban.—Analyst]

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

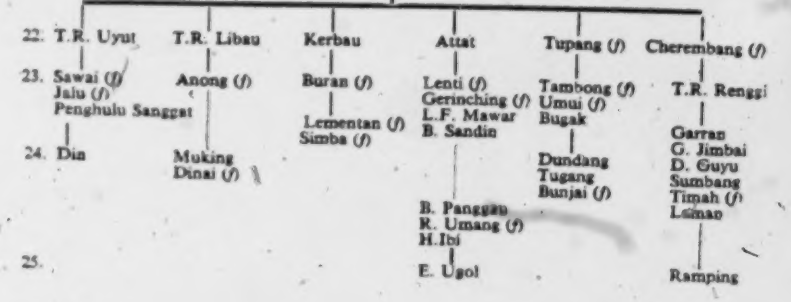
173
267

SPECIMEN GENEALOGIES

GENEALOGY I

This family tree descends from Sengalang Burong. It shows how long since the Sea Dayaks have already migrated into Sarawak from Indonesian Borneo.

1. Sengalang Burong	× Endu Sudan (*f*)	Tinchin Temaga (*f*)
2. Tinchin Temaga (*f*)	× Menggin	Surong Gunting
3. Surong Gunting	× Surong Ngiang (*f*)	Surong Kempat
4. Surong Kempat	× Ranjau (*f*)	Ridoh (*f*)
5. Ridoh (*f*)	× Bada	Gupi (*f*)
6. Gupi (*f*)	× Grasi "Blang Pinggang"	Geraman (Ensoh)
7. Geraman	× Tebari	Beragai (*f*)
8. Beragai (*f*)	× Chundau	Beti
9. Beti	× Duri (*f*)	Pandak (*f*)
10. Pandak (*f*)	× Talak	Badas (*f*)
11. Badas (*f*)	× Girik	Blaki
12. Blaki	× Buang (*f*)	Penyut
13. Penyut	× Endia (*f*)	Sudan (*f*), Jering (*f*)
14. Sudan (*f*)	× Salang	Blaki, Jimbai, Kader
15. Blaki	× Bremas (*f*)	Lada (*f*), Ugap, Bayang
16. Lada(*f*)	× Awan	Sawai (*f*),Jering (*f*)
17. Sawai (*f*)	× Kaya	Cheraring (*f*),Jantan, Lumpoh, Nyaru (*f*) Sian (*f*), Endayan (*f*)
18. Cheraring (*f*)	× Jiram "Rentap"	Cherembang (*f*), Mawat, Laja, Mengga.
19. Cherembang (*f*)	× Adir "Bungkok"	Anong (*f*), Tindin, Lui, Sawai (*f*), Dudut (*f*),Imar.
20. Anong (*f*)	× Linggir "Mali Lebu"	Umang (*f*), Penghulu Kenyeh.
21. Umang (*f*)	× Penghulu Garran "Lembang Batu"	See below :—



10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

Note:

1. Sengalang Burong was the greatest hero of the Sea Dayaks, the originator of various cults, such as the celebration of Bird Festival "*Gawai Burong*" and the strict observance of omens.

2. Menggin was Sengalang Burong's son-in-law, believed to have been living along the Kapuas basin before the migration of the Sea Dayak into Sarawak. He lived to very old age, died in the lifetime of his great-great-great-grand daughter Beragai. At the foot of Tiang Laju mountain there is a huge boulder known as "Batu Menggin", said to be Menggin's remains, miraculously turned into solid rock.

3. Surong Gunting was the son of Menggin and Dara Tinchin Temaga, who led the Sea Dayak migrations into Sarawak. He himself was a Chief who led his followers to live somewhere on the Tiang Laju range. Look at the map of Sarawak and you will find that one of Tiang Laju's peaks is called "Tangga Sarran"; this literally means "Sarran's Ladder". Sarran was one of Surong Gunting's followers.

15. Blaki was accidently killed by a party of the invading Serus while he was looking after his farm, then lying between the Paku and the Samu Rivers. His head, taken by the enemy, was afterwards discovered by his brothers, Jimbai and Kader, during their chase of the Serus to the upper Bong stream. After the discovery of the head they buried it under a huge tapang tree, "Tapang Blaki".

16. Awan was a famous ancestor, who came from Padeh to marry Lada (f) of Paku after the death of the latter's father, Blaki. Awan was the grandson of a famous Padeh Chief, Jantin ("Mon Hari").

18. Jiram, whose nickname was "Rentap" (not the later Rentap of Sadok), a very ambitious Saribas war leader who led his warriors to fight the Rejang, was defeated at Kanowit—where he and the majority of his troops were killed.

20. Linggir, whose nickname was "Mali Lebu" (literally means Socialist) was one of the most famous Sea Dayak Chiefs of Saribas, who with his followers fought Admiral (the then Captain) Keppel during the taking of Paku in 1843. In 1844 he paid his first visit to Sarawak, where he was presented by the Rajah with a spear and a flag of State. On his return, he was authorized to bring letters from the Rajah to the other Sea Dayak and Malay leaders of Saribas, viz: the Laksmana of Paku, Datu Patinggi, Datu Bandar, Lila Wangsa, Abang Mansor, Orang Kaya Pemancha Bayang and Bulan Patan of the upper Layar. On the 31st July, 1849, he *again* fought the Government forces at the famous battle of Beting

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

173
117

Maro. Early in August of the same year Linggir and his warriors attacked the Rajah's advancing flotilla at Nanga Peka, where Tujang and Bunsi, the sons of Orang Kaya Temenggong of Lundu, were killed in an ambush. Linggir's other actions and friendliness towards the Europeans as well as his brother Native Chiefs had been referred to by the first and second Rajahs in their writings. He died in 1878 and was succeeded as Chief by his nephew and son-in-law Penghulu Garran, who died in 1901.

21. Penghulu Kenyeh was the successor of his cousin and brother-in-law, Penghulu Garran. He was the grandfather of the late Penghulu Andil of Paku.

22. T. R. Uyut was the eldest son of Penghulu Garran who (about 1894) went to Malaya to join the Police Force there to quell the trouble in the State of Pahang. Due to his meritorious service he was then awarded the flag of State, still kept by his son Lawrence Sanggat, present Penghulu of Paku.

23. Benedict Sandin is the principal collector of this data. Renggi is the present headman of the Tanjong longhouse, in succession to his uncle Uyut, who died in 1927. Of Renggi's two sons, George Jimbai is working in Iban section of Radio Sarawak, while David Guyu is with the Department of Geology, Kuching.

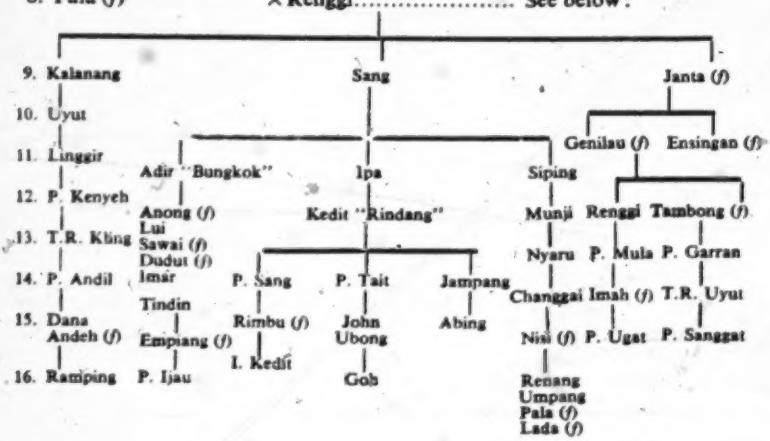
* * *

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

GENEALOGY II

This genealogical tree descends from Tindin to show how long ago the Sea Dayaks had migrated from Merakai to Tiang Laju, then to Skrang and finally to Paku in Saribas.

1. Tindin	× Tida (*f*).....	Rinda (*f*)
2. Rinda (*f*)	× Demong (Bukitan).....	Kelanang, Kelimbang, Bundak, Jawai (*f*), Bakak.
3. Kelanang	× Laus (*f*).....	Tuah
4. Tuah	× Sarong (*f*).....	Sing
5. Sing	× Lai (*f*).....	Busu
6. Busu	× Jering (*f*).....	Uyut "Badilang", Menging (*f*), Bremas (*f*), Rinda (*f*).
7. Uyut	× Nangku (*f*).....	Pala (*f*), Empari, Linggir, Entemang, Nisi (*f*), Sendai (*f*), Timah (*f*).
8. Pala (*f*)	× Renggi.....	See below:



Note:

1. Tindin, after the death of his father Chaong, led his people to build their longhouse at Lipat Cape in Skrang. Later he opposed the Bukitan Chief, Entingi, and then become very friendly, after the marriage of his daughter Rinda with Entingi's son Demong as mentioned at number 2 in the genealogy above and in the main text. After the death of Rinda he married a Bukitan woman named Lemia, who got him many children (see main text).

10: Sandin 1-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

173 167

3. Kelanang was eldest son of Demong, reportedly a very brave and influential Chief, who led his people to fight against the Serus in the old jungle of Paku.

6. Busu was another famous Chief, first to lead the Paku Dayaks to fell (for cultivation) all the trees along the Paku River, starting from Nanga Beduru right up to the mouth of River Anyut. His son, Uyut, married Nangku, daughter of another Chief, Sang of Anyut. After the death of his father-in-law, Uyut succeeded him, to lead his people and cut down all the jungle along the Anyut and its right and left tributaries. When he died, Uyut was buried at Nanga Bujut Cemetery in the upper Anyut.

8. Renggi came from Padeh to marry Pala, daughter of Uyut. Due to his outstanding diplomacy, he was appointed Chief after the death of his father-in-law, instead of any of his brothers-in-law.

10. Adir (nickname "Bungkok") was a very conservative but respectable Chief. He was not a man of war. He died of very old age, which caused him to be called *"Bungkok"* (literally means *bend*).

11. Kedit (nickname "Rindang") was a brave warrior under Linggir, who killed Bunsi the son of Orang Kaya Temenggong of Lundu in the Rajah's expedition against Paku in 1849. His sons Penghulus Sang and Tait were the valued servants of the second and third white Rajahs respectively.

12. Penghulu Mula was the successor of Penghulu Kedit of Paku Ulu, who died in 1903. His cousin, Penghulu Garran, was the successor of Linggir who died in 1901.

14. Penghulu Ugat was the predecessor of Sanggat, the present Penghulu of Paku. (cf. Genealogy I).

* * *

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

GENEALOGY III

This genealogy descends from Temegoh, the first Sea Dayak leader to migrate to Bangkit, a right tributary of Paku, Saribas. Temegoh is said to have been a very grand chief with a big family of thirty persons including his slaves. The quotation in the Dayak songs in connection with him reads: "*Temegoh betuboh maioh tiga puloh ngaum pengurang*".

1. Temegoh	× Reminda (*f*)	Sulang
2. Sulang	× Enduyan (*f*)	Rantai
3. Rantai	× Jintan (*f*)	Nani (*f*)
4. Nani (*f*)	× Nimong	Nanggar
5. Nanggar	× Lantak (*f*)	Gerijeh, Bangkam, Guroh, La.
6. Gerijeh	× Darun (*f*)	Nyeluai (*f*)
7. Nyeluai (*f*)	× Kelukut "Batu Galang"	Inai (*f*)
8. Inai (*f*)	× Ampi	Dass, Renyam (*f*)
9. Dass	× Embun (*f*)	Runya (*f*), Rinta (*f*), Dugong.
10. Runya (*f*)	× Musit	Gulang (*f*)
11. Gulang (*f*)	× Sumbang "Mata Hari"	Ibi, Lium, Ugol, Sian (*f*),Guroh.
12. Ibi	× Sarong (*f*)	See below:

13. Gadoh	Begri	Luat	Selaka (*f*)
14. Chundi	Lanjing (*f*)	Peter Sumbang	Evelyn Lemok
	Albert Dass	Johnson Sudok	
	Guang	Nara (*f*)	
15.	Rampai	Cherida (*f*)	Rosalind Umang
	Masing	Muja	Bertram Panggau
	Bilon	Penyut	Henry Ibi
			Edmund Ugol

Note:

6. Gerijeh was a Chief who fought with Senabong and his Sebuyaus, as a result of a *tapang* tree dispute between them in the Bangkit district, Paku. His brothers Guroh, Bangkam and La, were all men of influence and also brave in war. His father Nanggar was one of the Saribas warleaders of his time.

11. Sumbang (nickname "Mata Hari", later changed to "Ngelingkong Nanga Sugai") was a brave warrior under Linggir. He killed many during Linggir's expeditions against Apai Siba's house at Sugai, in the upper Julau River, about 1839, and later during the expedition against Matu. He died in 1896.

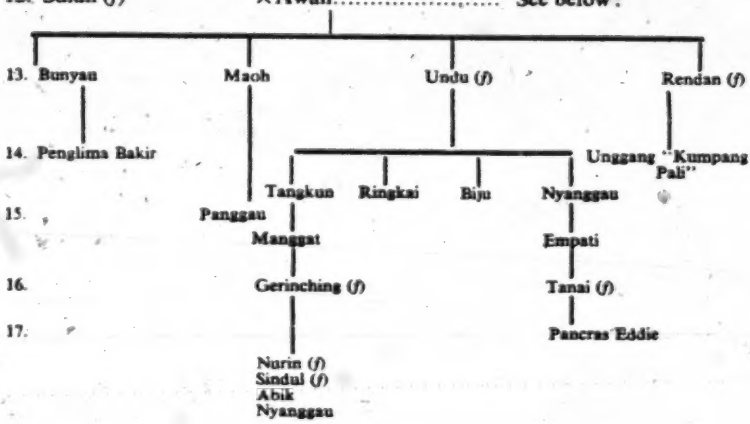
12. Ibi was headman of the longhouse at Ijok, Bangkit. He died in 1936. His brothers Ugol and Guroh were both Sea Dayak war-leaders who played a leading part in quelling the rebellious, Matsalleh in British North Borneo about the end of the last century.

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

GENEALOGY IV

173
167 This genealogy descends from Sendi (f) of Sebuyau who married Guang of Skrang as related already in this history. Before he married Sendi, Guang was a widower due to the death of his wife Genilau, daughter of Basok and grand-daughter of Singka Nayan of Tapang Peraja on Batang Ai.

1. Sendi (*f*)	× Guang.....	Tida (*f*),Tair.
2. Tair	× Giam (*f*).....	Anchap
3. Anchap	× Judi (*f*).....	Rendan (*f*)
4. Rendan (*f*)	× Manggi.....	Tama
5. Tama	× Manyi (*f*).....	Krebau
6. Krebau	× Nisi (*f*).....	Ujor (*f*)
7. Ujor (*f*)	× Gendup.....	Mawar, Meling, Eddie, Ranti, Rinya (*f*).
8. Mawar	× Lena (*f*).....	Galau
9. Galau	× Chandu (*f*).....	Ladang (*f*), Imban.
10. Ladang (*f*)	× Bunyau.....	Unggang "Lebor Menoa".
11. Unggang	× Sangan (*f*).....	Mulok, Luta, Ketit, Selaka (*f*), Sulan (*f*).
12. Sulan (*f*)	× Awan.....	See below:



Note:

5. Manggi was a Chief mentioned fully in this account.

8. Mawar was a mighty war-leader who gladly consented to the marriage of his son Galau to Chandu, daughter of the Batang Ai Chief named Bau of Enteli.

11. Unggang (nickname "Lebor Menoa") was a mighty warleader of Saribas. It was claimed that due to his destructive invasion upon the inhabitants of the mouth of Sarawak River, this place today is known as "Muara Tebas" (mouth cut

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

173
167

down). His sons Mulok, Luta and Ketit were all brave and adventurous men, who perished off the Datu Cape while trying to cross the China Sea in search of old jars overseas.

13. Both Bunyau and his cousin Maoh were well known for their bravery in time of war, as well as in administering their people's affairs.

14. Penglima Bakir was the chief of Lower Saribas. He went to invite Sir Charles Brooke—to come over and direct the construction of a Fort at Betong in 1858. Penglima Bakir and the people of Lower Saribas were in great enmity and rivalry with the Orang Kaya Pemancha Bayang and his sons. The latter had continuously fought the Sarawak Government till their ultimate fall at Sadok mountain in 1861. During those troubled days, in their anxiety for Bakir's head, the familiar saying of the Sadok women went as follows: "If you are a man, go to Betong fort and bring back to us the head of Bakir or that of Mr. Watson (Tuan Assan)". After the death of Bakir the chieftainship passed to his cousin Ringkai, who later was installed as Pengarah at Simanggang Fort in 1884. Ringkai was famous for his ability in dealing with native affairs. Besides, he was a member of Council Negri and said to be the outstanding Chief of his time. After his death in 1902 his younger brother, Penghulu Biju, was nominated to succeed him. Penghulu Biju was the Chief specially invited by the third Rajah to open the Brooke Memorial Statue at Pangkalan Batu, Kuching. On his retirement (on pension) he was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law Penghulu Empati.

17. Pancras Eddie is now working with Radio Sarawak, Kuching.

* * *

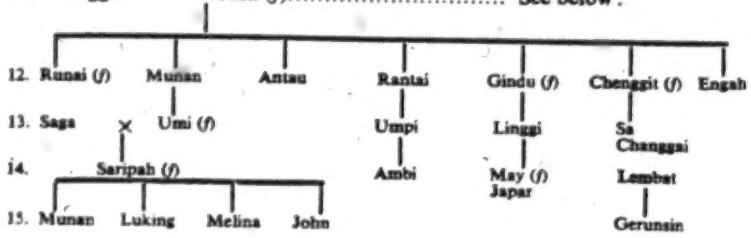
10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

GENEALOGY V

173
167

This descends from a Chief named Jelian who migrated from Merakai to Undup and had his longhouse built at Wong Tampangu. Jelian was the originator of the Sea Dayak custom of *Nungkun ka Dapor*. This old custom, that the kitchen of each family must not be allowed to grow cold—was common among the Sea Dayak.

1. Jelian	× Tiong (*f*)	Bredai (*f*)
2. Bredai (*f*)	× Braoh	Meradana
3. Meradana	× Selaka (*f*)	Mulu (*f*)
4. Mulu (*f*)	× Baling	Ugah
5. Ugah	× Tegang (*f*)	Rendong (*f*)
6. Rendong (*f*)	× Encharang	Selaka(*f*), Punai (*f*).
7. Punai (*f*)	× Ingging	Ganing, Nyangun.
8. Ganing	× Lamah (*f*)	Geliga
9. Geliga	× Kelang (*f*)	Sa "Lua"
10. Sa "Lua"	× Melaya (*f*)	Enchana "Letan", Menggin, Minggat, Gurang "Bulan", Gading (*f*), Dembu (*f*).
11. Minggat	× Jara (*f*)	See below:



Note:

8. Both Ganing and his brother Nyangun were leading warriors under the Chief Sang of Anyut.

10. Sa "Lua" was one of the two men who explored the Awik district in the Krian, to see the suitability of this land for migration. He died immediately after his return from this trip, was buried at Batu Anchau Cemetery in Paku.

11. Minggat was the leading warrior under Linggir of Paku. After his migration to Awik he became a famous warleader and rendered valuable service to Sarawak Government. He participated in attacking and eventually destroying Lang Nyindang's stronghold on the Stulak Hill at the upper Kanowit River. Later, during the Kedang Expedition in 1886, he was

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

appointed by H. H. the Rajah (Sir Charles Brooke) as head of warriors. One of his well-known victories was his successful invasion of the Ensiring Dayaks in the Rejang. He died in Sumatra in 1891.

12. Munan was an eldest son of Minggat. He joined his father's party to sail to Sumatra and after his father's death he led back to Sarawak. He married Subang, the grand daughter of "Sadok" Rentap at Entabai. He led seven expeditions. His three famous victories were; first, an attack upon Jimbau's house in the upper Engkari; second, invasion of the Batang Ai Dayaks when his party came out from upper Kanowit unnoticed by the enemies; and third, an expedition against the Kayans in the upper Rejang, when he and his troop killed hundreds of enemies. Munan, due to his bravery, was appointed to become the Great Chief (Penghulu Dalam) of Sibu. He was also appointed member of the Council Negri. He was the head of the Sea Dayak representatives from Lower Rejang during the peace making ceremony with Bantin at Kapit in 1907. He died on December 14th, 1914, and was buried at Pulau Kretau, Sibu.

14. Gerunsin Lembat is the Assistant Principal, Rural Improvement School, Kanowit. He has helped much in Museum studies of the Dayaks and is the Curator's good friend.

* * *

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

GENEALOGY VI

173 This genealogy descends from Jelenggai to show how Patinggi
167 Nyadan had already migrated into Sarawak from Sumatra, as mentioned briefly in this history already.

1. Jelenggai	× Bintang Banyak (*f*).....	Selamuda
2. Selamuda	× Manis Muka (*f*).....	Begri
3. Begri	× Seniya (*f*).....	Busok "Tandok Raja".
4. Busok	× Singgau (*f*).....	Mai
5. Ma.	× Jelawai (*f*).....	Patinggi Gurang
6. Patinggi Gurang	× Pudai (*f*).....	Patinggi Ngadan
7. Patinggi Ngadan	× Lementan (*f*).....	Bata (*f*)
8. Bata (*f*)	× Sambang.....	Sang, Nasa (*f*), Inchoh (*f*).
9. Sang	× Selaka (*f*).....	Lika (*f*), Nangku (*f*), Lanchang, Changgai.
10. Lika (*f*)	× Pengarah.....	Gelang (*f*)
11. Gelang (*f*)	× Luna.....	Ginyam (*f*)
12. Ginyam (*f*)	× Unggam.....	Malang
13. Malang	× Jumbu (*f*).....	Chulo "Tarang"
14. Chulo "Tarang"	× Dinggu (*f*).....	Dunkong (*f*) Lanjing (*f*) Tujoh
15. Lanjing (*f*)	× Ratih.....	Pengarah Undom
16. Pengarah Undom	× Ginyam (*f*).....	Nasa (*f*)
17. Nasa (*f*)	× Penghulu Entigu.....	Ratih

Note:

1. Jelenggai was an ancestor who married Bintang Banyak, and was founder of the strict observance of the "Pleiades" (stars), so that the Sea Dayak farmers might look up to the sky and see the setting of the stars, in order to plant padi at the right time.

[787] 2. Selamuda married a *swine goddess*. He was the originator of the tradition of foretelling the unknown through reading a pig's liver.

3. Begri, son of Selamuda, and his wife Manis Muka the swine goddess, were left with the father when the mother miraculously turned back to be a sow again (cf. *S. M. J.*, 1951, pages 438—441).

7. Patinggi Ngadan was a Sumatran ancestor, said to have immigrated into Sarawak and lived in Saribas. On his arrival at the Ban stream he met Talap of Pasa, who was making a canoe on the river bank. Answering Patinggi Ngadan's question, Talap said that he would claim all the land that stretched upriver as far as the scraps of his wood went up with the tide. Hearing this, Patinggi Ngadan passed on upriver and as he reached Bangai the tide turned down and

10: Sandin I-5 (1949-1955) 1956 OC6 Iban OC6

so here he stopped. When he was about to make a fire, by crushing two pieces of stone together, at the bow of the boat, Ngadan accidently dropped one piece into the river. This stone was said to have turned into a huge rock, which even now can be seen on the right bank of Layar River, at a spot called Bangai. Ngadan was buried at Jaloh Cemetery on the right bank of Layar River, below the mouth of Dabok stream. 173 167

9. Sang was a Chief of Anyut Dayaks. He was the father-in-law of Uyut ("Badilang"), in Genealogy I.

10. Pengarah was a warrior who served under his father-in-law, Sang, to drive away the Serus in the Anyut.

14. Chulo ("Tarang") was a famous warrior under Linggir and later under Minggat. He rendered service to the Government of Sarawak, which led to his nomination as Penghulu in the upper Krian. During Linggir's war against Sugai, Tarang captured eight slaves; and when he was following the Orang Kaya Pemancha Bayang's expedition against Banting, he killed two enemies. He was one of the first Sea Dayak Chiefs to become *Christian*. He died in 1887.

16. Pengarah Undom of Nanga Grenjang, Krian, was one of Tarang's grandsons. He died approximately two years ago.

17. Penghulu Entigu of Nanga Grenjang was elected chief to succeed his father-in-law, and is the present Penghulu of the upper Krian.

* * * *

14: Howell M-5 (ca. 1900) 1900 OC6 Iban OC6

Further, we should not omit to notice the growing importance of the language in the country further north, beyond H H. The Rajah's territory.

The British North Borneo Company employs a number of Sea Dyaks as armed police. There are many engaged in seeking jungle produce, in petty trading, or in cooley work, and, year by year, there would appear to be a steady increase in the number of Sea Dyaks who seek their fortunes in the Company's territory.

The Sea Dyaks possess no knowledge of writing, so their language has necessarily existed as an oral language.

When we reflect that Europeans have been in the country for upwards of fifty years, we may well feel surprised that so little has been done to familiarise both the natives and ourselves with this language by means of writing and printed books.

Previous to this Dictionary there has been produced only one work of the sort, entitled "A Brief Dictionary of the Sea Dyak Language." The other printed works can be counted almost upon the fingers of one hand, and their value is, in our opinion, much discounted by the fact that they clothe foreign ideas, thoughts, customs, and speech with mere Dyak words (of course used grammatically), which renders them useful only to Dyaks who have first of all been educated up to them, and of little use to those Europeans employed in this country who desire to construct genuine Dyak sentences understood by the common people. In this work it will be noticed that we have very generally erred upon the other side, and, at the expense of the English language, have tried to express in our examples native ideas, thoughts, customs and speech.

For their valuable assistance so kindly given us in preparing this work for publication, we have to thank Jantong of Temelan (who probably possesses a greater knowledge of the peculiarities of the language than any other Dyak living), Mr. A. F. Cheyne of Kalaka; the Rev'd E. H. Gomes, B. A., of Banting (whose criticisms and suggestions proved to be of the greatest possible use) and the Right Reverend G. F. Hose, D. D., Bishop of Singapore and Sarawak.

D. J. S. BAILEY.
W. HOWELL.

Simanggang, 1900.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

cernible. At the opening of the nineteenth century, the Ibans were largely living in the upriver areas of the Batang Lupar and Batang Saribas and their tributaries in the Second Division. They had migrated from the Kapuas headwaters in Kalimantan across the watershed into Sarawak territory some time earlier. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, groups of Iban families had begun to penetrate the headwaters of the Katibas (Freeman 1955-11-20) and the Sarikei (Cooper 1966-23), and by 1850, they had reached the vicinity of the Rejang.[8]

By the early 1830's other families from the Lemanak, Skrang and Layar had migrated to the Entabai and Julau valleys and the headwaters of the Kanowit River. Commenting on the presence of Ibans in the Kanowit, Charles Brooke wrote early in 1859,

> "This stream is inhabited by Sea Dayaks, who have for the last fifteen or twenty years been migrating from the Saribas and Skrang districts for the purpose of obtaining new farming grounds. These exoduses took place over-land between one river and another. Such parties would do their four or five days' march, then build their houses, and proceed to farm for one or two years, after which they would recommence their march, and so on, until they arrived at their final destination."

---

[8] Cooper writes that Sherip Masahor (1810-1890) "removed his headquarters to Sarikei, a small town on the river Rejang, and became very friendly with the Iban people living nearby" (1966-23). Sometime before the arrival of James Brooke, "Masahor took over the administration of the Rejang district for the Sultan of Brunei", indicating that the Ibans had reached the vicinity of the Rejang prior to Brooke's coming in 1841. (ibid.)

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 0C6 Iban 0C6 Sibu

871
177

> The gap between schoolhouse and longhouse yawns ever wider; the situation was well epitomized by a certain teacher's crushing rebuke of a bad boy. . . , 'You are good for nothing but to be a farmer'."

It is small wonder that, given the expectations of parents and students, and the changes of values introduced and re-inforced through modern education, relatively highly educated young people return to the [657] longhouse communities for visits, but not live. And, despite Government's policy and urging them "back-to-the-country," young Ibans increasingly are going to seek new ways of living in the urban areas.

4. Recruitment

167
464
[175] From the late nineteenth century onward, Ibans from the Sibu District and other areas travelled in search of work and adventure not only within Sarawak but as far afield as New Ginea. In an account of his wanderings, Tuba Aki Polly of Bawang Assan has recounted how he signed on with a company for work in Malacca and, upon completion of that contract (sain, "sign"), signed on with another company and worked for one year in New Guinea.

464 Not all Ibans are so adventurous, not inclined to wander so far in search of work,[47] and the growth of Sibu has permitted many more to find employment and adventure closer to home. We have noted already in

---

[47] Several Iban men with whom I have talked expressed a desire to move away from their home areas and into the Sibu pasar, but said that they were afraid to, because they were uneducated and unskilled.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

several Ibans alluded to it as the true way of Iban marriage (nya' baru lalai Iban ke amat), an instance of the exceptional being the exemplary!

In a survey of 143 secondary school students who had studied in Sibu between 1960 and 1970, 137 of the students indicated that they favored selecting their own spouses, with less than one-half favoring consultation with their parents about their choice. While there is little evidence of the influence of education on marriage patterns among Ibans who do not achieve as high as Form Three (Ninth Grade), there is abundant evidence of its influence upon those who study in Form Three or the higher forms. Whereas a majority of Ibans marry between the ages of 15 and 17 years, 102 of those in the survey sample of 143 were unmarried, about half of whom had been out of school for three or more years. Further, all of the respondents indicated that they wanted a spouse who was at least literate, and 34 stated that they wanted a partner who was as well-educated as themselves. It is also significant that none of the respondents returned to longhouse domicile, and all are living either in the place of their employment or with their spouses.

The economic potential represented by a highly educated young person abrogates and takes precedence over a low-class status or history of familial failure, making the young person highly acceptable as a candidate for marriage.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

Within the past decade the Iban population in the Sibu pasar and its environs[1] has increased almost ten times. From a resident Iban population in the Sibu Urban area of 693 in 1960, the population has increased to more than 5,000 Iban residents (including the Field Force and their families) at the present time.[2] Whereas the Iban residents formed just over two per cent of the urban population in 1960, today they comprise a little more than eight per cent.[3]

There is little reason to anticipate a decline in the in-migration of Ibans to Sibu, whether on a temporary or more permanent basis. Rather, given the generally poor soil conditions that exist in many areas; the unpredictable climate with unseasonable flooding as in August, 1971; the firm belief of the indigenous population that double-cropping of padi will not work;[4] the problems of hunger in many upriver areas and the

---

[1] Although administrators decline to include the Lanang Road Field Force in their consideration of the Iban population of Sibu, the exposure to and effects of the urban center as a type of adaptation upon members of the Field Force and their families are incontrovertible. A similar situation obtained from the Sarawak Rangers and their families before their move to the new camp at Oya Road which in itself is becoming a new pasar.

[2] A principal difficulty encountered in carrying out this study of the Sibu Urban area was the lack of census data. Because of the greater importance attached to political affairs in Western Malaysia, according to a senior official in Kuala Lumpur, the census data for those states have been processed first, and after the completion of that work the data for Sarawak will be processed.

[3] We have mentioned the movement of one entire longhouse community from Sungai Jih to Sibu following a terrorist attack on their home. Other groups and individuals have added substantially to the Iban population in Sibu.

[4] That double- and triple-cropping will work if carried out as a community activity has been demonstrated by agriculturalists.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

167 small returns on rubber and other cash crops; and the problem of maintaining security in such a vast jungle as the Third Division;[5] and finally because of the perceived rewards in the pasar, we may expect that even more Ibans will move into Sibu and other pasars because of the multiplex of factors which exert push-and-pull influences upon them.

243 433 511 Although Rumah Nyala is representative of many of the longhouses in the Sibu District with increasing rice yields because of participation in Government schemes and through improved techniques of horticulture, yet it and the other houses that are largely self-sufficient in rice are in stark contrast to a majority of the other houses in the Third Division.[6] For example, in the hillier regions[7] of the Song and Kapit Districts, the family that is able to produce enough rice to last from one harvest to the next is exceptional. Because of poor burns and the 1971 floods, some longhouse communities exhausted their meager rice supplies six to eight [262] months before the harvest. In such cases, the families have been dependent upon Welfare packages, rice which they have been able to purchase from the sale of rubber and other products, or have been reduced to eating sago.

---

[5] The Third Division has been made a special security area (Sarawak Tribune, 26 March, 1972) and the possibility of regrouping of longhouses (Sarawak Tribune, 27 March, 1972) has been mentioned.

[6] It is to be recalled that even in our sample in the Sibu District where production is among the best in Sarawak, only 36 per cent of the Ibans produce enough rice for an entire year.

[7] Much of the upriver area is so hilly that terracing is impossible, and flat land for planting wet rice is minimal.

249 511 The fall of rubber prices over the past two years has made the situation of many more Ibans critical. We have noted in Chapter One that most of the rubber produced by Ibans is either unsmoked sheet or Grade 5 (RSS), for which tappers may expect ten cents (Malaysian) per cattie. It is not surprising that most people have stopped tapping their trees,[8] and in some cases actually have cut down their trees.

659 [113] Maintenance of security within the Third Division is an awesome task. Divided by the Rejang River and its scores of tributaries, the land is a patchwork of swamps and hillocks in the lower areas, rising to high [484] hills cut by swiftly flowing streams in the upper reaches. Travel is difficult at best for roads for virtually non-existent outside the pasars and the Sibu-Oya-Kuching development. Despite modern weaponry and airborne troops, the mushroom tactics of the elusive terrorists in the heavily wooded terrain make their containment a militarist's nightmare.[9]

• 167 Considering the problems of making a living and the unsettled conditions due to terrorist activities over against the attractions which many Ibans perceive in urban areas, it is understandable why some of their number have opted for life in the pasar, and why we predict that more are

---

[8] Except those persons who have mature high-yielding trees.

[9] One official estimates the number of terrorists in the Third Division at 700, but the exact number is unknown, and by strikes and hiding they rarely encounter security forces except by design.

167 likely to do so. We now will consider the circumstances and factors related to groups and representative individuals who come into Sibu daily as commuters or who have moved into the town as more or less permanent residents.

B. Commuters

464 The principal characteristic of Ibans who travel in and out of
167 Sibu daily to work is their proximity to the pasar. Workers from Rumah
493 Nyala use bicycles over a path past Sungai Merah into Sibu. From Nanga
494 Assan, Langgup, Bidut and other nearby areas, workers use launches or small ferries, either bringing bicycles with them or using the bus service near the jetty to get to the place of employment. About one dozen men drive private taxis from the Oya and Durin Roads, bringing in passengers from their communities and other fares that they pick up along the road.
[427] Although transportation is available for greater distances, the cost of the fare is prohibitive so that persons from more remote areas find it cheaper to rent a room for twenty-five dollars.

462 Commuters include both men and women. Men predominate in various
167 types of work offering regular employment, such as gardening, construction, brickyard, clerking, and custodians. Though there are a few exceptions, most men who commute are employed in labor activities with relatively low rates of wages. Most women who commute are best categorized as self-employed (nitih ka kereja diri' empu), such as selling vegetables in the Iban market or as bar-girls. Of the fifty-five members of Rumah

Of the fifty-five members of Rumah Nyala who are wage-earners, seventeen commute daily to Sibu. Fifteen of the commuters are men and two are women.

It is among commuters and their families that the pattern of women doing the farm work and men supplementing the family's income with wages occurs. Unlike permanent residents in Sibu, among whom both husband and wife live in town and depend upon the husband's income, the commuters have realized the advantages of not having to buy their rice and at the same time having cash to buy other food and for other necessities and valuables.

In Rumahs Nyala, Imba and Gaong the main shophouses are maintained by commuters or, in their absence, other members of their families. The men who work in Sibu use the occasion of their daily trips to purchase goods for their shops as well as to dispose of any produce which they may have purchased from members of their communities. The success of each of these shops may be attributed to the diversification of activities - farming, wage-earning and shopkeeping - so that the families have other resources upon which they can call if one or the other fails them. It also may be attributed to the acumen of the men who manage to maintain amicable relations[10] with other members of the community yet at the same time are able to call in payments for debts so that they are not bankrupted by overextension of credit.

---

[10] Local jealousies can quickly bring ruin to a business if other members of the community feel for whatever reason that they are being exploited by a fellow.

18:Sutlive . E,M-5 . (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

159
167
177 Enchul anak Rengga, Apai Jimmy, of Rumah Gaong, Sengan, is representative of those Ibans who retain their residences in rural areas but have become intimately related to the values of the mercantile society of Sibu. For the insights that it may afford us, we will consider his life and work in detail, to understand both Enchul as an individual and those aspects of his personal history which reveal the effects of the pasar on the urbanizing Ibans.

Enchul was born in the old house of Rumah Imbe, Selim, in about [563] 1932.[11] He had four brothers, one of whom was an adopted Chinese. Enchul's father died when Enchul was fourteen. All of the brothers married out of their natal bilik except his adopted Chinese brother who still lives with Enchul's mother in Rumah Imbe and takes care of her.

Following his father's death, Enchul went to school at Bawan for about six months. He was older than the other students and embarrassed about studying with younger boys, but he was determined to learn to read and write which he did in six months. While in school he also studied arithmetic (sam) and after returning to his home a Chinese shopkeeper taught him how to keep accounts and to do simple figuring. He gave him advice on how to buy and sell so as to make a profit.

---

[11] Until recently, Ibans kept no records of births, these being remembered by residential sites or areas of farming when a child was born.

Enchul went travelling/(bejalai) to see more of the country and to learn as much as possible through his trip. He worked at Miri for three months painting pipes for pumping gas from the shore to ships and then went to Baram where he worked for five months, tapping rubber on the edge of the jungle. After he had saved enough money for his return and to begin trading, he returned to Salim.

After his return to Salim, his mother arranged for him to marry his third cousin who lived in Sengan. In 1952, Enchul was married and because his wife was an only child, the adopted daughter of her parents, he went to live in her bilik. Before going on his trip, Enchul has saved M$1,400 and he had accumulated another M$ 400 during his travels. He had tried to save the money because he had been told by the Chinese shopkeeper how much money he would need to set up shop for himself. Enchul's father-in-law already had obtained a license to trade in the Sengan area, but hadn't opened a shop because he knew that he couldn't carry it on alone and he didn't trust any of his peers. Therefore, when Enchul married his daughter, his father-in-law agreed for him to open a shop off their tanju'.

Enchul's shop has done a steady trade and he attributes his success to a basic self-sufficiency in rice production. In his words,

> "I never have had a bad year or a year when I didn't get enough rice to carry through until the next harvest. I have never known want (bulan gantong sendok). Therefore, because I didn't have to buy rice, and often had enough to sell, I have been able to save and to invest my money. Year by year, I have

159
167
177
[829]

been able to build my capital and reserves. Also, I have been thrifty and not wasteful- not seeing movies or playing around with women, because I figure I am already married."[12]

Enchul's wife and parents farm both swamp and hill rice and have good harvests from each. Unlike ninety per cent of the members of his [829] house, Enchul has a surplus of rice every year. In his opinion, successful farming is a matter of planting and hard work.

> "The reason why only about one-tenth of the people in our house succeed in farming is that the others don't undertand the conditions for farming. Some farm too early, others too late. Some clear but don't weed, some weed but don't harvest. Others start their farms after we are finished. It's not so much a difference in luck or land. We farm the same kind of land as others who are unsuccessful in farming, and we get rice. It depends on hard work (tulang, lit. "bone"), not land. Those who are short of rice aren't unlucky but just don't farm or don't know how to farm."

[437] Because of their outstanding success in farming, Enchul's family often provides rice for other families in the house in exchange for labor, at a rate of one gantang (M$2.20) per day.

Unlike many other Ibans who sold their land near the roads as soon as they were opened, Enchul bought all the land he could afford. He and Embuas ank Imba have gone together and purchased all of the land two lots

---

[12] Enchul is a keen cock-fighter, taking off each Sunday for Oya Road or Durin, making up losses suffered in betting thro·h fares he carries to and from the fights.

159 deep from Mile 5½ to Mile 8½ on the Durin Road.
167
177
[829]

> "Most Ibans don't know how to handle the changes that are happening. An Iban sells his land for M$1,000 and then hands it right back to the Chinese when he buys things from him. I tell the people in my house that on Chinese New Year the Chinese go to Tua Peh Kong (Deity of the Earth) and give thanks for us Ibans."

The first years after Enchul opened his shop were hard and filled with heavy work. He and his wife farmed, and he tried to get his shop going. He paddled a longboat down the twisting, log-choked Sengan to the mouth of the Menyan[13] where he loaded his cargo of rubber onto a motor launch going to Sibu. The trip from his house to Sibu took two days. He spent one day in Sibu doing business, and then returned to Sengan, arriving home late on the fifth day after he had left. When able, he hired two helpers, a prowsman and a bailer. After three years, he had saved enough to buy a small (5½ horsepower) outboard motor.

In 1960, Enchul had saved enough money to buy a rice-mill, explaining that he thought it was too much trouble for women to have to pound rice in the traditional way or to have to take the padi down to Nanga Menyan to have it husked. The mill is still in use and people who use it pay Enchul one dollar per picul to husk their rice.

---

[13] In 1958 during one of the worst droughts in the history of Sibu, I travelled up the Sengan with Enchul, the trip from the mouth of the river to Rumah Gaong taking ten hours.

159
167
177
[31]

After purchasing the rice-mill Enchul still had money left and invested M$400 in two tracts of land west of Rumah Gaong. He built a cattle-shed and bought fourteen head of cattle, a hearty type that could live on the scrub-grass of his land.[14]

After he had bought the cattle, Enchul heard that the Government was going to open a road to Oya. He began to plan immediately to buy a car realising that it would be easier to travel by land than by water. In 1966, after the road had been cut through the forest some three miles distance from Rumah Gaong he bought an Austin van for M$9,850.

> "I studied how to drive - really hard - because at that time we Ibans didn't know how to drive a car. I didn't hire a teacher, but studied with Chinese with whom I was familiar, such as Ah Lin and Teh Ong, a tailor on Channel Road. Because they hadn't seen an Iban driving a taxi or car for profit, they didn't charge me, figuring that I was just going to play with my car."

After he thought that he knew enough, Enchul went to Sibu and made arrangements to take a test for his license. He and three of his companions met a Chinese who said to them,

> "Never mind taking the test. If you will give me one hundred dollars each, I can get your licenses for you."

---

[14] Enchul has planted three species of grass obtained from a Government center to supplement the sparse grass and shrubs of his land.

159 The four Ibans gave the Chinese one hundred dollars each and he told them
• 167 that on the day of the test, all they had to do was to go in to the
177 License Office and pick up their licenses. He said that he didn't work in the office but had a friend who did and could issue the licenses without a test for that amount.

> "He took our money and took off for Brunei where he still is. Needless to say, we didn't get our licenses and were out one hundred dollars apiece."

Realizing that there was no easy way to obtain his license, Enchul decided to prepare himself for the test. But rather than taking the test immediately, he went to the testing office and lounged around while others were asked questions about laws of the road and driving. Most of his friends and many others failed the tests. When Enchul thought that he knew the answers to all the questions that possibly could be asked him, he took the test and to the surprise of Chinese and Ibans alike, passed the first time. He began driving his car, hauling goods for sale in his shop or for his own use, and carrying friends to and from Sibu.

When he heard about the Class Twelve License for taxi drivers, Enchul began his pursuit of it. The first two times he took the test he failed.

> "I figured that people who lived in the city had ways of passing, so I asked some of them about how to get the license. On 30 March, 1971, I took my test and passed it with great trembling and fear. I paid (the man) who taught and recommended me M$300 and smaller sums to other men with whom I studied and asked questions."

159 With the Class Twelve License, Enchul plans to operate a taxi on the
167 Durin Road, looking ahead to the time when he is too old or inclined not
177 to farm or tap rubber.

Enchul takes great pride in his son and daughter, both of whom passed the Common Entrance Examination and entered the Sibu Rural Secondary School. Because his own education was limited, he recognizes the potential values of higher education in the intensely competitive employment situation in Sarawak, and also in terms of the general knowledge which may be useful in what ever activities they undertake.

[829] "A lot of children don't understand how to study and aren't encouraged by their parents, because the parents don't understand the benefits of education beyond the possibility of their children getting a salaried position and they, the parents, living off the money their children make. 'If the father is speckled, the child will be speckled' (Enti' apai buik, Burik anak ia). If the parents know how to plan and work, the children will also. But for the most part, we Ibans don't know how to plan in terms of long-range goals."

Enchul has achieved prominence in his longhouse community where
[554] his family is the most successful. His prominence is predicated on successive annual harvests of surplus crops of rice, and an unexcelled longevity in profitable shopkeeping. His daily trips to Sibu provide him with income from fares as well as with valuable contacts with friends. He is a familiar person to Chinese and Ibans alike on Channel Road, and representative of those Ibans who are adapting to the pasar, and in many respects acting as cultural brokers, while maintaining their residences in the longhouse communities.

000 We now shall consider the Ibans who for various reasons have moved into Sibu where they have taken up their residences.

C. Residents

162 A majority of the 200 Ibans in our sample have come into the
● 167 town from the Third Division. Twenty-nine came from the First and Second Divisions, two from the Fourth and one from the Fifth Division. Of the 168 persons from the Third Division, 81 or almost one-half came from the Sibu Rural area, and the other 87 from the other districts of this Division.[15]

167 The predominance of Ibans from the Sibu Rural area may be attributed
177 in large measure to the much longer and closer contacts, they have had with
464 the pasar. Living closer to the town, they have become job-wise and employment seekers and their relative proximity to the pasar has provided them with greater access to information about openings. As one young Iban man commented,

[829] "Whenever there is even a hint of some vacancy, Ibans swarm around the office like flies around sugar. By the time people from farther away hear about the opening, we already have it."

Further, the positions that have been obtained give the employees a chance to help secure placement for their kinsmen and friends. For

---

[15] The persons from other districts in the Third Division include six from Sarikei, 21 from Binatang, 23 from Kanowit, 13 from Song, 20 from Kapit, and four from Mukah. I am aware that persons from other districts as well reside in Sibu, but they were not encountered in this sample.

example, a recent vacancy in a council office attracted 61 applications from young men. The man finally selected for the position did not have ostensibly higher credentials than other applicants, but by his own admission had a friend on the selection committee who helped him get the job.

A majority of the Ibans who have come to Sibu from the First and Second Divisions are employed in government or military service. They have come by transfer or appointment to Sibu, having been recruited in their home districts or divisions. The two persons from the Fourth Division are government employees and the man from the Fifth Division is a member of the Sarawak Rangers.

Residence of the persons sampled follows the type of employment (Table 15, p. 197). Government employees live in the main in quarters provided for them, though in some cases provision is made for their renting other quarters. Most other residents occupy rented rooms alongside the numerous side-roads off Lanang and Queensway Roads. As noted, there is no area that can be called an Iban ward, though our sample revealed a large number of Ibans living off Kai Peng and Mission Roads, because of the accessibility of these two roads to the pasar.

Of the 200 Ibans surveyed, 119 have had some formal education, ranging from a minimum of one year to a maximum of Doctor of Medicine from Ottawa University. Fifty-four have studied in primary school, 28 of whom completed Primary Six and stopped after failing the Common Entrance Examination. Sixty-two attended secondary school, 23 studying through Form Three and failing the Sarawak Junior Examination. Three of

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6
Sibu

871 the residents have been to universities abroad.
167
177 Only one of the 29 persons from the First and Second Divisions has had no education, the high incidence of schooling in this sub-sample reflecting the much longer history of education in those Divisions. The other 80 uneducated Ibans are from the Third Division. Thirty-seven of that number are women including the ten who described themselves as self-employed and seven of the waitresses and bar-girls.[16] The remaining uneducated women are housewives. Of the 44 uneducated men, 18 are construction laborers, five are trishaw drivers, and 21 are in the Sarawak Rangers.

871 It is interesting and significant to note that two of the con-
464 struction laborers have had seven and nine years of education each but,
167 unable to find other work, they have taken up manual labor. This is in-
177 dicative of a certain category of urban resident who, though small in number at present, will increase greatly over time. These are secondary school-leavers of whom more and more will find their ways into the towns. We have discussed (page 192) the separate survey of students who attended aided secondary schools in Sibu between 1960 and 1970. As noted in that discussion, none of the 143 who returned the questionnaire have taken up residence in the longhouse. The over-saturation of the market with

---

[548] [16] Three of the bar-girls have had Primary Four education and one has studied in Form One. Generally, however, girls becoming self-employed prostitutes or bar-girls have low educational backgrounds and no other way that they can see to "advance themselves" (ngemansang ka diri').

secondary school-leavers, however, has changed this situation, so that within the past two or three years, a number of these young people, and especially from poorer quality private secondary schools, have had to return to their longhouse communities. In many instances such school-leavers have been disillusioned with the social situation in which they have found themselves, having anticipated employment which they could not obtain. They find adjustment to life in the longhouse difficult if not impossible keeping their eyes open to any opportunity for employment outside. Many find themselves so at odds with the interests and goals of their elders and peers as to conclude that they have no future in the longhouse. They drift back into Sibu where they form small gangs and live by their wits, hanging around the streets until some opportunity presents itself. Many more of this type of resident will manifest themselves in the future in Sibu.

Almost three-fourths (148) of the persons surveyed were found to be married. This is not surprising given the virtual universal practice of marriage among the Ibans, many of whom marry by age 15. Of the total sample, 119 men and 29 women were married and living with their spouses in Sibu. A little more than half (76) of the men came to Sibu before their families, leaving their wives and children in the rural areas until they found work and housing and then moving them into Sibu.

While only three persons indicated that their marriages had been arranged by their parents, almost eighty per cent (117) married persons from their home longhouse or from some other rural community. Twenty-six

584 persons have married in the pasar, in most cases their spouse being some
167 one whom they met at the place where they work. Four persons indicated
177 that they married school-mates, and one man met his wife at a party.

593 Responsibility for parents continues to be a concern for a large
167 majority of the urban Iban residents. This is revealed in the fact that
177 in only ten cases had the couples not discussed their marriages with their parents and settled the matter of who would marry out (sapa ke nguai).

591 In a significant shift away from the predominance of uxorilocal residence,
167 such as we found in Rumah Nyala (Table 23) in 86 of the married persons
177 surveyed the woman had married out, and in 52 cases the man had married out. When asked about the reason why the woman married out, in most cases the reply was that she follows her husband (nitih ka laki ia) who is the wage-earner, so that there is little argument that can be made on the part of the woman's parents for the man to nguai. It is important to note that in the case of Rumah Nyala, the woman maintained her residence in the longhouse, whereas in the cases under present discussion she has moved to the pasar.

[888] The incidence of ten couples who had not discussed the matter of their residence and responsibility with their parents is important in that it represents an abdication of accountability for aid to the older generation.[17] As more couples arrange their own marriages in the pasar,

---

[17] The fear of this abdication of accountability and responsibility has been encountered often when discussing the movement of Ibans into town for education and employment. In the words of one old man, "We know that if our children go into town, they no longer will think about us and help us. But there's nothing that can be done about it."

591 it is anticipated that more cases of neolocality will occur, with no dis-
167 cussion and definition of which spouse marries out.
177

In fifteen instances, there is frequent visiting between the
593 parents and couple. In three cases, the parents live with their children
167 to all intents and purposes, returning only occasionally to the longhouse.
177 In the other twelve cases, the wife pays frequent visits to either her
606 parents' home or the home of her parents'-in-law, helping them with work, food and attention.

More than three-fourth (168) of persons asked indicated that they help their parents with money, food, clothing or work. While the veracity of such statements is difficult to certify, from observations in several families it would appear to be true generally that most children take some responsibility for their parents in the rural areas. I have often seen parents bring money orders into the post office, having received them from their children in Malaya. Residents in Sibu frequently buy coffee, sugar and other foodstuffs as well as clothing for their parents and younger siblings. It may be expected that this pattern of partial support of children for parents will continue, in the absence of any other social security for the rural elderly.

167 A little over three-fourths (155) of the total sample indicated
177 that they preferred to live in the pasar, and would not return to the
829 longhouse community. The primary reason given for preference of life in the pasar was the greater economic opportunity. Several stated that life in the rural area is too precarious: a rice crop may fail and the price

167 of rubber may vacillate; food may or may not be available. But in the
177 pasar, there is no shortage of food and there are ways to get money with
829 which to buy it.

Secondary reasons given for preference of life in the pasar are
[758] related to medical facilities and education. Several persons said that the unhygienic conditions of the longhouse and the lack of medical aid
[871] influenced their decisions to live in the pasar. Others said that the standard of education in rural schools is of such poor quality that the only chance for children is to get them into urban schools, beginning preferably at the kindergarten level.

Interestingly, many of the long-time residents of Sibu stated
[186] their preference for life in the longhouse. In several examples of informants saying one thing but doing another, men who have lived in Sibu for more than 20 years maintain that the only place where young people can become "true Ibans" is in the longhouse. A majority (43) of those who chose rural life are in the Sarawak Rangers. They indicated that they would serve out their time with the Rangers and then retire on pension to their longhouse communities. Only time will tell whether they return to the longhouse or continue to live in Sibu or some other pasar.

159 We now will consider in turn the examples of three residents of
167 Sibu, who are representative of the larger population of Ibans. In the
177 case of the last two, pseudonyms are used. These individuals personify many of the patterns of behavior and characteristics of the urbanizing Ibans and, it is hoped, will help to give more concreteness to elements

18:Sutlive E,M-S (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

already discussed about the Iban population as well as social and cultural norms.

Anyau Bakit is representative of a large number of Ibans who have established their residences in Sibu, having found employment in various government departments or with companies. A man of quick mind and high ambition, he is one of the best-known Iban residents in the town.[18]

Anyau was born on 1 September, 1917, "of a middle class family," near Stras in the Binatang District. His family was neither very poor nor very rich, and had moved to Stras from the Second Division to escape the predations of more hostile Ibans (see quotation, page 83). His recollections of his childhood are a mixture of hardship, owing primarily to occasional shortages of food, and happiness, with a relatively close family life and playmates. While he was still young, his family moved to Nanga Nansang where they farmed, bringing him into contact with the large Iban community at Bawang Assan where many of his later ties were formed.

When he was eight years old, he entered the Roman Catholic Mission school in Sibu where he did well in his studies and his quickness was perceived by his teachers. He was one of the first Ibans in the District to attend school, a fact of which he is quite proud. In 1929 and 1930, he attended St. Thomas' School in Kuching, returning to Sibu in 1931 and

---

[18] In 1971, Anyau was selected to serve on the Public Service Commission for a term of three years and now is living in Kuching, though he still maintains his home in Sibu.

154 completing his seventh standard in 1934 in the English Department of
167 Chung Hwa School.
177
[829]

> "Because of the Rajah's policies about Iban education at that time, I couldn't continue my education. He was afraid that educated Ibans would be dangerous Ibans."

Having been away from his parents and life in the longhouse for almost ten years, Anyau returned home,

[829]

> "to acquaint (myself) with the customs and life of my people. Though only a few of the native boys went to school and possessed such academic qualifications at that time . . . I had to humble myself and mix freely with the poor and rich people alike."

In early 1936, Anyau was recruited for work by the government. He was appointed a Forest Guard, a position which he held for one year,
[584] when he left the service in order to marry his first wife, Piah. Piah was the sister of Jonathan Banggau, whose family had seen Anyau's ability and diligence and, in the words of a mutual friend, "wanted Anyau for a
[586] member of the family." The marriage lasted for several years before the couple were separated, at about the same time as Anyau took up a position as a Sarawak Native Officer (kunsil) and was posted to Binatang.

In line with the Third Rajah's policy of including more non-Malays in administrative positions, Anyau states that he was due to be appointed to the position of District Officer when the Japanese invaded Sarawak.

[777]

> "My life has been plagued with bad luck. Each time I worked diligently towards a good position, only to see it taken away from me just as it was within my grasp."

159
167
177
587
577

Shortly after the Japanese invasion, Piah died. Following the period prescribed for a widower to show respect to his late wife and her family (entebalu), the kinsmen of Inoh made arrangements for her and Anyau to be married. Anyau was childless by both of his wives, so he and Inoh adopted three children, two daughters and a son, Mas, Nancy and Julian.

Following the surrender of the Japanese in 1945, Anyau was seconded to work with the British Military Administration as a correspondent in Labuan. Upon his return to the Third Division in early 1946, he took up a teaching post in the Bawang Assan Local Authority School. He taught in the Bawang Assan school for nine years, working also as an inspector of native schools in the Sibu District.

875

> "I was proud indeed because Bawang Assan school under my supervision was making steady progress since 1946 to 1954, and it was noted with credit for being able to send more than 80 per cent of its students for secondary education to Batu Lintang Training College, Kuching."

In November, 1954, Anyau was called to work in the Cooperative Development Department, and held the post of Cooperative Officer. Taking up residence in Kampong Baru, Sibu, he travelled widely in the Third Division, encouraging Ibans,

> "to become productive and thrifty in order to uplift their standard of living as other communities such as the Chinese and others."

In 1960, Anyau entered the more formalized political activities by standing for election to Council Negri. A man of small resources, he could not compete with other candidates, especially in the giving and promising of favors for votes, and he lost.

664

159 promising of favors for votes, and he lost. He continued work in the
167 Cooperative Office until 1967, when he retired after twenty five years
177 and eight months service.

> "I insisted to obtain retirement earlier due to the fact that I was requested by my native people to take up politics as they have ... confidence that I could be a good leader in the country."

Anyau's integrity soon was to be put to the test, when he was appointed a member of a small commission to adjudicate a land dispute of major proportions in the Third Division. Living on his small pension at the time, he was offered a sizable gift if he would render decision in favor of one of the parties. He refused to accept the gift, maintaining that,

> "my motto is to be fair with others and honesty is the best policy."

When elections were announced in Malaysia for 1969, Anyau was in-
[665] clined to align himself with the opposition party, SNAP. He was prevailed upon by Dato Ling Beng Siong, a prominent Chinese timber tycoon, philanthropist and Alliance member, to work for him in the Pesaka Party Office in Sibu. A strong individualist and utterly loyal to his benefactor, Anyau occasionally found himself at odds with some of the party members. As a result, when the selection committee met to put up their candidates, another man was chosen to run in the ward in which Anyau wanted to stand.
[666] Undaunted, Anyau stood for election as an independent under the sign of

159 the clock.[19] Again, however, he could not compete against the campaign
167 of his opponent and lost the election.
177
[666] Following the election, Anyau had considerable time on his hands in which to consider other ways to gain a position in government. Although himself Christian,[20] Anyau's lengthy residence in the Malay kampong, his numerous contacts with members of the ruling Alliance, and his unquestioned integrity, placed him in a favorable position for consideration to a government post. After the several disappointments in his quests as a civil servant and politician, he deemed it only just when he received word that he had been appointed to the prestigious Public Service Commission,[21] a post for which he is eminently qualified. His perseverance and patience have brought to him the rewards which he has sought.

Callisto Berin is a school-leaver from the Kapit District. Like many other young people for a variety of reasons, she is disinclined to

---

[19] One of the several signs related to candidates to help illiterate voters identify the candidates of their choice.

[797] [20] Anyau was one of the men responsible for the entrance of more than 250 Ibans of the Bawang Assan community into the Methodist Church in 1953, seeing in Christianity a way of "progress and civilization."

[21] A commission that serves to review promotions for all government employees, the members of the P.S.C. receiving substantial salaries and allowances.

159 return to her longhouse and now is living with her husband in Sibu where
167 they met.
177

Berin was born on the 3rd of July, 1953, near Nanga Entuloh off
[59] the Baleh. Even before Berin was born, her mother dreamed that she should give Berin to another woman some distance from their home. She was the youngest of 14 children. When she was one week old, she was taken to her foster-mother,

> "because she had been awaiting my birth. Fortunately my foster-mother had herself just given birth but her child had died, so she was brave enough to take me, and had the milk to nurse me."

159 Berin has strongly ambivalent feelings about her childhood in the
167 longhouse of her foster-parents. Her best friend was a little boy, Wilfred
177 Nyawai, who was about the same age as Berin. The two played and as often
855 fought together.

> ". . . I was a quarrelsome child and quick to scold others. . . Because Wilfred was a boy and stronger, he often beat me. However, we were good friends, playing together with his sisters and with his grandparents and mine."

As she grew older, her mother left her in care of her sister-in-law while she went to the farm. According to Berin, her sister-in-law resented her and the responsibility of having to look after her.[22]

---

[22]Having doubts about the veracity of some of Berin's life history, I sought out her cousin who verified all parts of it, corroborating her reluctance to return to the longhouse because of the differences between her and her adopted family.

159
167
177
855

"When I was left with my sister-in-law, I lost a lot of weight. Because, according to what people told me, my sister-in-law didn't look after me, and I was fed by people on either side of my bilik. Our neighbors took care of me, seeing to my needs of eating, sleeping and comforting me when I cried. I often had trouble: my mouth was burned because the milk was too hot, my stomach was scratched, and my knees, shins and arms were marked by my falling and because no one cared for me."

On two occasions, Berin almost drowned in the swift water near her home when she followed other people into the water. When her mother realized that her sister-in-law no longer could be trusted to care for her, she left her in charge of other people in the longhouse.

In 1961, Berin entered Temenggong Koh's school. Her mother took her to school in the morning and came for her each noon.

[862]

"(Each day) she brought me a bottle of milk because even though I was already in Primary One, I was still nursing. I didn't go off the bottle until I was in Primary Two. I often was scolded by the teacher because I would say that I had to relieve myself when in fact I wanted to get the bottle."

Berin became close to two of her classmates: Marietta Adang and Margaret Mia, both of whom were the same age as Berin. Whatever the one said the other two would do.

During the first years in primary school, she learned to be more independent.

159
167
177
855

"I learned the difference between 'yes' and 'no,' to be ashamed (malu), and the spirit of competition because I did not want to be defeated by my friends (enggai alah ari pangan), both of whom were very keen in school."

Berin was very close to Wilfred, Margaret and Marietta, but she did not make friends easily. The three were her only friends until she reached secondary school.

[164] In the third grade, Berin contracted typhoid fever and couldn't attend school for a month. She was seriously ill for about a week. Because of the harvest, her mother had to spend the night away and the people who had been asked to look after her didn't do so. During the night she became delirious and thrashed wildly about in her bed. Luckily the people in the next bilik heard her and came in to care for her. The people went to the farm though it was night and brought Berin's mother back, for they didn't know whether she would live. She recovered but the illness severly weakened her.

Like many Iban children, Berin was sensitive to scolding and particularly by members of her adopted family. Once while washing a glass, she dropped it and it broke on the floor. Her sister-in-law was angry with her, grabbed a piece of burning wood and stuck it onto Berin's hand. The next evening she dropped a brass lamp which fell and broke a plate. Her foster-mother got a broom and swept Berin's face with the broom.

159
167
177

"Because of the troubles that had befallen me on those two successive evenings, I felt that there was no one who loved me and didn't care if I lived or died. Even though they had fed and cared for me for a long time, at that time their love meant nothing to me. I ran from the bilik not knowing where to run. Feeling that I had nowhere to go, I flung myself off the tanju'. My uncle had followed me and as I leaped, he grabbed my arm and hair and kept me from falling. He took me to his bilik where I stayed for a while."

[731] In 1966, Berin's house was hit by a flash flood. She was alone in the house and terrified as the water rose.[23] Fortunately, her section of the longhouse withstood the flood and by climbing above the rushing waters she saved herself. The same year, Margaret Andang died leaving only Marietta of Berin's close girl friends.

159
572
167
177

Berin's happiest experiences were spent with the girls of her longhouse. With them she would gather various types of fruit of season, fish with baskets and pound derris root, and collect jungle ferns.

". . . More than all other things I loved to play asim (cross-catch) and passing the stone. I really enjoyed those games."

159
167
177

At the end of her sixth year of school, Berin failed to pass the Common Entrance Examination. Though she thought that she couldn't go on

---

[23] Flash floods in many upriver areas can be awesome experiences; for example, in 1970 a flood hit the Menuan River just below Kapit, sweeping a recently constructed bridge and seven units of one longhouse before it.

159 to school, she was given a work scholarship to the Methodist Secondary
167 School, Kapit, and lived in the Girls' Hostel. Her experiences away
177 from home were rewarding in the friendships that she made, particularly with the hostel mother. During the school holidays in her first year, she returned to her longhouse to help tap rubber and with farm work.

> "When the illipe nuts were in season I gathered as many as possible. I worked hard for I realized how much I was indebted to the family who had raised and cared for me. At the same time I realized how much I had suffered at their hands. . .For the past few holidays, I haven't gone back to my foster-parents because they haven't care whether I returned or not."

In 1969, Berin took the Sarawak Junior Examination and failed it. When the opportunity appeared for her to enter a private school in Sibu,
[152] she accepted. Again, she became very close to the hostel mother though her relations with her peers were strained and complicated by unresolved conflicts towards her mothers[24] and herself.

> "I met (the hostel mother) here and she has become my friend so that I don't have any more longings to go back to my mother who gave me birth."

During her second year in the private school in Sibu, she met a member of the security forces to whom she was attracted. He in turn was attentive to her, taking her on dates, giving her presents and a fun-time

---

[24] In relating her life history, Berin made several remarks about her desire to "return to the mother of my birth." It is significant that the only adult male figure to appear in her account is her uncle.

159 in the town. After about one year's courtship, they became engaged and
167 Berin dropped out of school to marry him. Because she was a Methodist
177 and he a West Malaysian Muslim, they had a civil marriage. When Berin refused to even consider returning to her longhouse, they have established their residence in Sibu awaiting the end of his tour of duty in Sarawak when they will move to West Malaysia.

Although Berin's case has a number of unusual features about it, by no means is it exceptional. Rather, it serves to illustrate the breach in expectations that often occurs between members of the older generation who are more oriented to traditional norms and members of the younger generation who are more open to new values. In Berin's case, the interpretations that she has made of her family relations are satisfactory rationalizations to her of a situation to which she is unwilling and unable to return. Despite the estrangement that she depicts between herself and her adopted family, her foster-mother fully expected her to return to the bilik, and Berin in Sibu as soon as she heard of the marriage. This expectation was based on the fact that Berin now is the only child of her bilik-family and was looked to as the parents' heir and supporter in old age. Nevertheless, Berin's orientation now is away from the longhouse community and it is doubtful that she will return to that pattern of life except for occasional visits.

Johnny anak Meling was born just after the end of the Japanese occupation at Sungai Tutus, a tributary of the Igan River. Meling, his father, had been born at Tutus and his mother, Rani, had been born at

159 Bungan farther down the Igan. Meling and Rani are first cousins, and
• 167 their marriage was arranged by their parents. Johnny has four brothers
177 and one sister, all of whom are living the same house as their parents.

Johnny's family was very close, the relations between the siblings most amiable. They played together with other children of the longhouse and other than for small incidents, Johnny remembers no fights or disagreements that marred their life. Though Johnny and his wife have lived in Sibu less than two years, all of his siblings as well as his parents have visited him.

His schooling ended withe Primary Four because he was disinterested in the subjects which he had to study.

> "My favorite subjects were drawing and art. The other lessons were difficult and I just couldn't get them. So I stopped school after Primary Four."

With abundant land and an adequate labor force, Johnny's family has never had to buy food. Growing wet rice on two principal areas which they farm alternate years, they always have been able to live off their own rice and never have been forced to buy rice in Johnny's memory. His mother, sister and other women in the community are the principal farm workers, so that the men are released to seek other forms of employment.

After he stopped school, he joined his father in working for a sawmill near their home. When work at the sawmill was cut back and they were laid off, the two of them and other men from their community went to other areas for work in logging and sawmills.

159
167
177

When he was sixteen Johnny was married following the traditional pattern of courting (begayap). After he had visited the girl whom he wanted several times at night and she had agreed with his intentions, he made arrangements through his parents for them to ask the girl's parents. Agreement was reached, and a Gawai Melah Pinang was held. The marriage lasted two years after which the girl returned to her parents' bilik.

Johnny remarried when he was twenty but the second time with less ceremony. He gave his new wife a gold ring, paid one dollar and informed the tuai rumah and tuai bilik (beterang ka tuai) that they were marrying. Like Johnny, his second wife also had been married and divorced.

Johnny continued to work for the sawmill near his home until he was 23. Hearing an announcement that the Field Force was recruiting personnel, he applied and to his delight was accepted.

> "I wasn't needed for farm work and I was tired of working at the sawmills. That work is hot and heavy, the days long and the wages low, so I figured that I would rather get into something else. That's the reason why I signed on with the Field Force."

When he and his wife moved into Sibu in May, 1970, their quarters were not ready. They were housed together with other recruits and their families in the new shophouses along Lanang Road. Upon completion of the Field Force barracks they moved to the Lanang Camp in May, 1971.

Because of his work in sawmills throughout the Third Division, Johnny knows a large number of Ibans, Chinese and Malays with whom he has worked. Many of these men he has met in Sibu and they visit him and

159 frequently have drinks together in the numerous pasar coffe shops. Johnny
167 and his wife go to the pasar whenever possible, their favorite pastimes
177 being going to the movies (especially Hindustani) and sitting over a drink in the coffee shops, watching the people go by.

159 Johnny's parents and his wife's visit them about once a month,
574 bringing rice, palm cabbages and other vegetables. Other members of their
167 home community stay with them from a night to a week, and sometimes longer,
177 when they are in Sibu on business or keeping a sick relative in the hospitel. Such visitors are welcome and repay their hosts with bags of rice, fruit which may be in season, fish, pork, and vegetables.

> "I never charge them for staying with me, for that wouldn't be right according to Iban adat. Besides, they bring in food to help and I am glad to see them."

159 Johnny enjoys the security of a regular income, though by his
167 calculation, his salary of M$ 160 a month is not very much. Of this a-
177 mount, he gives about M$ 30 each month to his parents. Despite what he
465 considers to be a rather low salary, he feels that this is better than the uncertainity of other activities.

> "When I was younger, we Ibans put emphasis upon farming. Now, it's education. Formerly, people wanted a son-in-law who was strong so that he could help them with farm work. Now they aren't choosy just so he earns wages. In the past parents wanted to know from which family a man came. Now, they want to know how much his salary is each month."

159
167
177

Johnny's wife is not employed, but he gives her a small amount for herself above their food money. As often as not he buys their food, a pattern that is common among many Iban families. His wife resents his going to town for no reason and his "wasting money" by drinking and cock-fighting. Otherwise, however, their relations are congenial.

He is not sure of his future. By his own evaluation, he has a good life in the Field Force. The only aspect of it that he doesn't enjoy is having to stand guard duty at night. But otherwise, he feels, his housing is provided, his salary and gifts from family and friends adequate, and he lives an easy, worry-free life near the pasar where they are things to see and do.

178 Until the last decade or so, the trading network was operated
439 almost entirely by Malays and Chinese. Only they had the external contacts in Singapore, Malaya and Hong Kong to handle imports and exports. Within the past decade, however, Ibans have begun to supplant Chinese traders at the village level. For, more than jars and brassware moved
[436] over the trading network. Through the exchange of goods Ibans have acquired an orientation to a cash economy and mercantile mentality, the better to obtain more goods and status.

183 The tradtional value system placed a premium on performance in
198 the areas of rice-cultivation and bravery, among men, and weaving skills
[462] among women. New values of money and salable materials provided new bases
[464] for differentiation between members of Iban society. Employment and
[871] education, available principally in urban areas, have eroded traditional values and radically affected Iban social structure.

175 Although the Ibans were related to the pasar through the trading
657 network and administrative functions which increasingly impinged upon
167 their lives, the Brooke government discouraged the movement of Ibans into the pasar for fear of changes in the traditional society and culture as they had conceptualized them. The Brookes and their officers conceived of themselves as protectors of an Iban ethos which they had stereotyped. The role of the Ibans was cast in terms of the military functions which they might perform and every attempt was made to preserve
[871] this role. They were permitted to attend mission schools but there was no encouragement or support from the Brooke government for Iban education.

195 657 167 Given the pressures to conform to rural roles interpreted for them by government officers and unsubtle dissuasion from moving into the pasar, it is hardly surprising that few Ibans found their ways into the towns.

175 657 Towards the end of the Brooke Raj, Vyner Brooke made plans for liberalization of Iban administration. These plans were cut short by the [877] Japanese occupation. However, following the cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946, new opportunities were made available to the Ibans for education and for participation in a broader range of political and economic activities. Local authority schools for Ibans were opened in [631] rural areas. Selected Iban students entered secondary schools. Participation of Iban leaders in councils at all levels was encouraged.

175 648 The economy immediately after the war was in a quiescent state, for many Chinese still maintained a "back-to-China" dream which precluded their investment of profits locally. The establishment of the Communist government in China shattered the dream, and served to stimulate the local economy. Unwilling to return to China and risk their fortunes, local Chinese invested in businesses, land and buildings. They soon were joined by other Chinese who fled the mainland and swelled Sibu's population in the 1950's. The economy received a further boost when the Korean War brought a demand for rubber which soared to unprecedented prices, giving way to timber as the major export only in 1964. Exploitation of rubber and timber made cash available to the public generally and allowed quick fortunes to be amassed in a few cases.

653 As cash became available to Ibans and other indigenes they had
199 the means for acquiring goods in the pasar. The development of a cheap
167 public transportation system by water and road in the 1960's provided ways to and from the pasar. The sense of distance between longhouse and pasar was reduced as the travel time was shortened, and Ibans who long had been attracted to the pasar began to enter into its activities in increasing numbers. Some have made periodic visits to the pasar, others took up residence. Whereas there had been a reticence on the part of many Ibans to make their homes in the pasar, owing in part to the sense of distance from their fellows and in part to the closed economic system as they perceived it, over the past decade several thousand Ibans have moved from their longhouses to the town. The pioneering efforts of a few Ibans have led the way for many others.

177 Exposure to other ethnic groups and acculturation have led to
361 changes in residence pattern and economic activities among the Ibans of
621 this District. In the rural areas the longhouse domicile remains the
[342] most distinctive characteristic of Iban settlements, but social and physical fragmentation is increasing as more members of the longhouses spend less time in them, and in several hundred cases Ibans have erected
[178] permanent individual dwellings. It is important to note that if the longhouse community declines in favor of separate houses, the seat of the community's meetings and ceremonial activities, and area of socialization, viz., the ruai, will shift. Perhaps it is the other way around and the longhouse is diminishing in significance as less importance is attached to the ruai-centered activities.

18:Sutlive E,M-5 (1957-1971) 1973 OC6 Iban OC6 Sibu

to the ruai-centered activities.

The long history of cooperative activities between Ibans and members of other groups has contributed to the movement of some of the former to the town. Encouraged by their abilities to relate to Malays as partners (udong) and Chinese as patrons (towkay), accepting values from both, and supported by the increased presence of members of their own group, Ibans have taken up various types of employment and quarters among other ethnic groups.

The growth and changes in the Sibu pasar have both affected and been affected by structural and cultural changes in the Iban population of the District. Meaningful employment has come to be defined in terms of cash returns. Relations with members of other groups have resulted in a sharpening of incipient class distinctions. Education and earning potentials have taken precedence over descent lines. And attractions and amenities of the pasar have drawn Ibans, some temporarily, others permanently, into the activities of Sibu.

Whether they move into Sibu or remain in rural areas, the lives of Ibans have been changed by the growth of the town and its population. For all of them, physically and culturally, it is now only a short distance from longhouse to pasar.